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“It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologists, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease.”

SIR WM. JONES.

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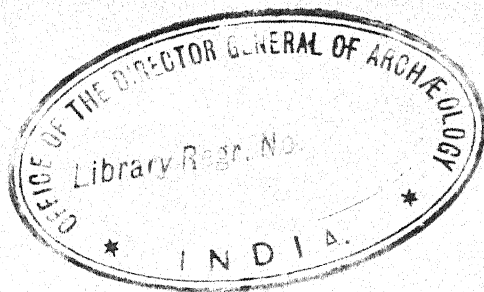
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JOURNAL

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Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1882.

*Contributions on the Religion, History &c. of Tibet.—By BABOO SARAT
CHANDRA DÁS, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Darjiling.*

(Continued from Vol. L, p. 251.)

IV.—RISE AND PROGRESS OF BUDDHISM IN TIBET.¹

CHAPTER I.

Hail to that all-yielding gem, the prince of power, the holy religion of Buddha that came from the precious country of Aryāvarta! By the kindness and generous acts of pious princes, learned Pandits and Lochavas,² it was brought to this snow-girt country of Tibet. Let its brightness enlighten all hearts and the copious shower of its blessings and usefulness ever excite wonder! Be it adored, being placed on the top of the banner of faith!

The Buddhism of Tibet is divided into two main periods:

1. Ña-dar or Earlier Buddhism.
2. Chhyi-dar or Later Buddhism.

1. EARLIER BUDDHISM.

During the reigns of twenty six generations of kings, counted from Ña-thi-tsanpo the first of the Tibetan kings to Namri-sroñ-tsan, Buddhism was unknown in Tibet. During the reign of Lha-tho-thori-ñan-shal, who was well known as an incarnation of Samanta Bhadra, there fell on the top of

¹ A literal translation of the 1st part of the 2nd book of Dub-thah selkyi Méléñ. See Vol. L, p. 187, note 1.

² Tibetan scholars who were versed in the Sanskrit language were called Lochhava or Lochava.

the king's palace, from heaven, several volumes called Pañ-Koñ-Chhyag-gya.³ The meanings of their contents being unknown, they were adored under the name of "Ñan-po-saṅ-wa." This was the nucleus of Buddhism in Tibet. The king learned in a vision that their contents should be known in the fifth generation. Accordingly, during the reign of Sroñ-tsan-gampo⁴ the reputed incarnation of Chenréssig,⁵ the minister Thon-mi-Sambhoṭa visited India to study the various sciences and Buddhism. He became well versed in the classical sciences of the Indians. After his return to Tibet, he framed the Wuchan,⁶ or "characters provided with heads," of the Tibetans after the model of the Nágari, and the Wumé⁷ characters after the *Wurtu*⁸ letters, and thereby founded the alphabetic system of the Tibetans. Sroñ-tsan-gampo brought the image of Akshobhya⁹ from Nepál and that of S'ákya Muni from China, which were the first Buddhist images in Tibet. In order to accommodate these upholders of Tibet, he erected the great Temple called Rasa-thul-nañ-kitsug-lakhañ.¹⁰ He engaged Thon-mi Sambhoṭa and his colleagues to translate Sanskrit Buddhist works into Tibetan, writing them in the newly formed alphabet. Saṅgye-phalpo-chhe¹¹ and other books were the first translations which formed the germ of Tibetan Buddhism.

During the reign of Thi-sroñ-de-tsan¹² who was celebrated as an emanation of Manju-Ghosha,¹³ the great sage S'ánta Rakshita and Pandit Padma Sambhava and several other Indian Buddhists and philosophers were invited to Tibet.¹⁴ Among the first seven monks, Vairochana¹⁵ was the chief. Originating from them, the ancient Tibetan Clergy of the "orange raiment" began to multiply. Then, there sprung up a host of Lochavas—those versed in two or more languages—among whom were Lui-waño,¹⁶ Sagor Vairochana,¹⁷

³ *āPañ-skóñ-phyag brgya.*

⁴ Sroñ-ṭsan-sGampo.

⁵ That is, the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara.

⁶ Also called Go-chan (*āVu-chan*) or characters provided with *mátras* or heads.

⁷ Written *āVu-méd* and pronounced as Wumé, a kind of letters which have no *mátras* or heads.

⁸ Wurtu is probably the language of the people of Kafiristan and Bactria.

⁹ One of the Panchajáti Buddhas.

¹⁰ Rasa-ñphrul-snañ-gi-gtsug-lag-khañ. From that date his capital was founded by the name Lhasa or the "land of God." Sanskrit Kutágára is the same as Tibetan Tsug-la-khañ. See Vol. I, p. 221, note 33.

¹¹ Sañs-rgyas-phalpo-chhe.

¹² Khri-sroñ-ḍe-ṭsan.

¹³ The God of Learning and Wisdom.

¹⁴ Under them the first Tibetan Clergy was formed.

¹⁵ Also written Vairotsana.

¹⁶ *ñKhon-ñlu hi-āVañ-po.*

¹⁷ Sa-gor-Vairo-tsana.

Rinchhen-chhog,¹⁸ Yeśe Wañpo,¹⁹ Kachog shañ,²⁰ &c., who translated the Sūtras, Tantras and meditative sciences from Sanskrit into the Tibetan language. S'ánta Rakshita undertook the charge of explaining to his pupils the sacred literature, from the Dulva (Vinaya) to the Mádhyamika philosophy. Padma Sambhava and his colleagues taught the Tantras to a few intelligent pupils, which enabled a few pious persons to obtain sainthood. Then a Chinese sage named Hwashañ-Maháyána came to Tibet to preach a strange form of sophistry. He held that the pursuit of *evil* as well as of *good* binds men equally to a course of recurring existence, and therefore affords no means of emancipation. In illustration of this theory he observed—"your condition remains all the same whether you are bound by an iron or a golden chain; you are not liberated". Wherefore if the mind can be purged of all thoughts, deliverance from recurring existence is secured. The doctrine which he thus promulgated was accepted by all Tibet; and for a time the Darśana and doctrines of the former Indian Pandits such as S'ánta Rakshita were displaced. For he vanquished all in disputation by his powerful logic. The followers of S'ánta Rakshita and other Indian philosophers diminished in number. In order to refute the philosophy of Hwashañ, king Thi-sroñ-de-tsan invited Kamalaśíla, one of the most learned Indian sages of that age. Hwashañ was defeated in disputation, and his fallacies were exposed by Kamalaśíla who wrote three series of books on meditative science and thus re-established the Indian school, its ritual and philosophy.

During the reign of Ralpachan, Pandit Jina Mitra and many other learned sages were invited, who, having translated many Buddhist works into the vernacular language, arranged them so as to be accessible to the general reader. Both S'ánta Rakshita, and Kamala S'íla belonged to the Svatantra-mádhyamika school. Thi-sroñ-de-tsan who was a devout follower of S'ánta Rakshita, prohibited his subjects by royal proclamation from following Hwashañ's theories under penalty of death. He commanded all to follow the Mádhyamika school. Although certain Indian Pandits of the Yogáchárya school had visited Tibet, yet they failed to displace the anciently propagated Svatantra school, which prevailed in Tibet till the accession of Lañdarma to the monarchy of Tibet, when the last vestige of Buddhism disappeared from Tibet. The Buddhists of the earlier period or Ña-dar followed S'ánta Rakshita and Kamala S'íla, *i. e.*, the Mádhyamika Svatantra.

2. LATER BUDDHISM.

At the time when Lañdarma was actively prosecuting the destruction of Buddhism in Tibet, three saintly recluses from Pal-chhen-chhu-vo-ri

¹⁸ Achárya Rin-chhen-mChhog.

¹⁹ Yeśes-dVañ-po.

²⁰ Ka-Chog-shañ.

fled towards the Amdo country, where they became pupils of the abbot Lama Gón-pa-rab-sal.²¹ They were followed by ten other Tibetans headed by Lume-tshul-thim who took the vows of monkhood and were admitted as pupils of the same High priest. After the death of Lañdarma, they all returned to Tibet to their respective monasteries and estates, and increased the number of monks. Thus from the country of Amdo the dying flame of Buddhism was rekindled. Henceforth, Buddhism commenced to spread again, and all quarters of U' and Tsañ were refilled with many classes of congregated Lamas, who actively engaged in the teaching of Buddhism. For this result the inhabitants of the snowy country (Himavat) are indebted to the two Amdo Lamas Gón-pa-rab-sal and Lume-tshul-thim. During the reign of Lha-Lama, Yeśe-hod the celebrated Lochava-Rinchhen-Ssañpo visited India to study the sacred literature and philosophy of the Indian Buddhists. After acquiring great proficiency in those subjects he returned to Tibet and translated many Sūtra and Tantra works. He thus established himself as a great teacher of Buddhism.

(Revival of Buddhism by the Lamas of upper Tibet and Ladak called sTod-Latak.)

A goatherd named Kargyal, under inspiration from a certain Nága of the same name, preached a strange religion (a form of Bonism) which was inimical to Buddhism. Rinchhen Ssañpo overcame him, and also suppressed some of the Tántriks who were in the habit of abusing the Tántrik ritual by committing obscenities under the garb of religion. Thus by purifying the sacred religion, he gained the sincere love and confidence of the dwellers on the snowy mountains. Lochava Shon-nu-pal of Gos remarked that it was owing to the exertions of this great scholar that pure Tántrikism became more diffused in the later than in the earlier period. Towards the end of his life he betook himself to asceticism and, having attained to saintliness, he entered the abodes of the gods. This great Lochava belonged to the Prasanga Mádhyamika school.

The same prince Lha-Lama invited Pandit Dharma Pála with three of his principal disciples named Siddhapála, Guṇapála, and Prajñá Pála, from the eastern quarter of India. From these, Gyal-wai-śerab of Shañ Shuñ took the vows of monkhood and afterwards went to Palpa in Nepál to learn Vinaya and philosophy from the Hínayána sage named Pretaka. His spiritual descendants, named Paljor-śerab Chyañ-chhub-señgé &c., were known by the name of Tod-dulva or the up-country followers of the Vinaya.

During the reign of king Lhade the illustrious Kashmirian Pandit S'ákya S'rí was invited, who by translating many of the Sūtras and S'ástras greatly promoted the diffusion of Buddhism. The ritual vow intro-

²¹ Gón-pa-rab-gSal.

duced by him was called Panchhen Domgyun. In the same manner that introduced by Lachhen of Amdo was called Lachhen Domgyun. By persecution the enemies of Buddhism had only succeeded in putting down the external observances and ritual of the clergy, while the real Dharma and moral discipline continued to be secretly practised under adverse circumstances. The basis of Buddha Dharma being Vinaya or moral discipline, the system of Dom-gyun is only necessary as an external observance.

3. GROWTH OF VARIOUS DOGMATIC SCHOOLS.

Thus by the mercy of the victor (Jina) and his spiritual sons (Bodhisatvas), by the kindness of Dharma Rájas and Paṇḍitas and Locharas, and by the moral merits of the people in the Himavat country, the Buddhist religion progressed more and more, so as to branch out into numerous different sects as the result of its extraordinary growth. These, like the eighteen divisions of the Vaibhāshika school of ancient India, were designated after the names of their respective teachers and places of origin. Some of the Tibetan Lamas who had derived their religious knowledge from Indian Paṇḍits, feeling great veneration for the theories themselves, named their respective sects after them. They did not follow the Indian patriarchs in their nomenclature, for all the Indian Buddhist schools were designated after the general sense of their philosophies. For instance: the Sakya-pa, Jonañ-pa, Shañ-pa and Diguñ-pa sects of Tibet were designated after the names of the localities where they were taught and originated: the Karmapa and Bulug-pa sects, after the names of their respective teachers: the Kaḥdampa, Dsóg-chhen-pa, Chhyag-chhen-pa, and Shi-chye-pa sects after their respective rituals or external *Kriyá*.

All the various Buddhist sects of Tibet are classed under two schools:

- (1) The Ancient school.
- (2) The Gelug-pa or Reformed school.

The ancient school includes seven sects, *viz.*, Ñiñ-ma-pa, Kaḥdampa, Kaḥ-gyu-pa, Shi-chye-pa, Sakyapa, Jonañpa and Ñi-tshe-pa.²²

In the ancient school there are two general divisions. The earlier Ñiñma-pa and the later Ñiñmapa called Sarmapa. It has been asserted by Tibetan historians and philosophers that the difference between the earlier Ñiñ-mapa and the Sarmapa exists in the Tantras. In the Sūtras there is no doctrinal difference. In the earlier and later periods of Buddhism there were certain dogmatic differences in the Sūtras, which justified the distinction. All the Tantras that were translated into Tibetan prior to Paṇḍit Smṛiti's advent, are designated by the name of

²² (1) Ñiñ-ma-pa, (2) Kaḥ-gdams-pa, (3) Kaḥ-brGyud-pa, (4) Shi-byed-pa, (5) Sa-skya-pa, (6) Jonañ-pa, (7) Ñi-tshe-pa.

Sañ-ñag Nñma,²³ and those that were translated by Rinchen-Ssañ-po and other later writers are known by the name of Sañ-ñag-Sarma.²⁴ But although this distinction of Nñma and Sarma Tantras is recognized by many authors, yet there exist some irregularities in the application of the terms. For instance the Manjuśrī-mūla Tantras which were translated during the reign of king Thi-sroñ are also accepted as Sarma Tantras. In the face of such irregularities Rinchen Ssañpo has been universally admitted as the founder of the Sarma Tantras. Dogmi Gos and Marpa Lochava are credited as Sarma teachers. The first revival of Buddhism after the death of Lañdarma, known as the Later period, commenced with Loton-dorje Wañ chhyug when Thi-Tashi-tseg-pa, son of Pal-khor-tsan, ruled the kingdom of Rulag. His three sons Pal-de, Hod-de, and Kyi-de requested Loton to send two learned Lamas who could revive the Buddhist religion in Tibet. Accordingly S'ákya Shon-nu and Yeše-tsondu were sent, who re-established the clerical congregation in Tibet. Again that great sage, in consultation with those princes, sent Dogmi and Tag-Lochava to India to study Dulva, S'er-chhyin²⁵ and Tantras which are respectively the basis, essence and pith of Buddhism. Tag Lochava, having devoted his time chiefly to pilgrimage, failed to become a learned teacher, but Dogmi succeeded in his mission and became a great scholar of Buddhism. He introduced the system of Tantras called Mátṛi Tantras and thereby diffused the teaching of Buddhism. Lochava Rinchen-Ssañpo elucidated Prajñā, Páramitá, Mátṛi and Pitṛi Tantras and above all made the Yoga Tantras accessible to the Tibetans. Gos had introduced the Samája Guhya and spread the system of Nágárjuna. The great Tantrik sage Marpa taught the Guhya Samája according to Pitṛi Tantras, the ritual of Mahámáyá according to Mátṛi Tantras, the ritual of Vajrahārsha and Sambhara. By imparting instructions in several kinds of mysticism, he filled Tibet with learned men. These great Lochavas having charged themselves with these works, Tántrik Buddhism opened a new era in the religious history of Tibet, known as the Sarma system of the later period or Sarmatanpa or Gyu, the same as Navya Tantra.

CHAPTER II.

RISE AND PROGRESS OF NñMAPA SCHOOL.

In the beginning king Sroñ-tsan-gampo, himself a professor of Buddhism, taught his people the series of scriptures known as "Kyerim" and "Dsog-rim" delivered by Chenressig. All Tibet paid homage and prayed to that merciful Bodhisatva for protection. Sroñ-tsan, in whom was an emanation of Chenressig's spirit, first taught the six mystic syllable

²³ gSañ-sÑag-rNñ-ma.

²⁴ gSañ-sÑag-gSarma.

²⁵ Prajñā-páramitá.

bles, "Om-mani-padme-hum," and their significations and recital. He invited the Indian teacher Kusara, S'ankara Bráhmaṇa, the Nepalese Pandit S'ilamanju and others who, having translated many Tantras, first taught the Tibetans the first principles of Buddhism. The accounts of the first introduction of Buddhism and a few Tantric works were discovered within a stone pillar called Ka-khol-ma, in which Sroñ-tsan-gampo had hid them for the use and benefit of posterity.

In the fifth generation from Sroñ-tsan the illustrious king Thi-sroñ invited the great Indian Pandit S'ánta Rakshita who introduced the observance of the "ten virtues"²⁶ and Dharma which teaches the real state of the eighteen physical and corporal regions with the eight prohibitions²⁷ such as killing, the taking of what is not given, the commission of foul actions, lying, drinking, dancing and singing, and sitting on lofty seats. When the mighty local gods and genii²⁸ who delight in sin found that men were prone to virtue, they became enraged, and one of the most wrathful among them named Ñen²⁹-chhen-thañ hurled a thunderbolt on the Marpori³⁰ hill. Another frightful demi-god named Yar-lha-shanpo cast down the palace of Phañ-thañ of Yarluñ. The twelve female spirits called "Tanma" spread plagues and murrain all over the country. Under such circumstances thinking it urgently necessary, first of all to overcome these evil spirits and goblins, to ensure the safety of Buddhism, S'ánta Rakshita requested the king to invite Padma Sambhava the great Tántrik

²⁶ (1.) Not to commit murder.

(2.) „ theft.

(3.) „ adultery.

(4.) Not to utter lies.

(5.) Not to speak evil nor utter abusive language.

(6.) Not to talk nonsense.

(7.) Not to slander.

(8.) Not to be covetous.

(9.) Not to think on injury.

(10.) Not to be averse to truth.

²⁷ (1.) Dorje-Khadoma.

(2.) Dorje-Yama-choñ.

(3.) Dorje-Kuntu-Ssañ-mo.

(4.) Dorje-Kik-je-tsono.

(5.) Dorje-Åka netra.

(6.) Dorje-Pal-yum.

(7.) Dorje-Luma (Nágini.)

(8.) Dorje Dagyalma.

} Demons.

} Yakshinís.

The first four are demons and the last four are Yakshinís. Dorje-means Vajra.

²⁸ These were probably the Bon-gods.

²⁹ Bon-Demigod.

³⁰ The Hill on which Potálá now stands.

of Uddayana. Accordingly the king sent messengers to India to invite that illustrious sage. By his gift of foreknowledge knowing what was required of him, Padma Sambhava had already started for Tibet. The messengers met him on the way. He obliged all the evil and wicked genii and demons to bind themselves under solemn oaths not to work evil nor stand in the way of the pious. Sitting on a cross made of two Dorje,³¹ placed on a clear space, he purified a spot on which he built the great Vihāra of *Ssan-yaḍ Migyur-Lhun-gyi-dubpai-tsugla-khañ* or the shrine of the unchanging, self-grown working. The king together with twenty six of his saintly subjects, by sitting in three kinds of *yoga*, became possessed of wonderful learning and obtained saintly power, perfection, and, finally, emancipation.

The names and the exploits of the twenty six Tibetan Buddhists who obtained sainthood and worked with the king are the following :

- (1.) Nam-kha-ñiñ-po could mount the rays of the sun.
- (2.) Saṅgye-yeśe could drive iron bolts into hard rocks.
- (3.) Gyalwa-chhog-yañ, by transforming his head into that of a horse, neighed three times.
- (4.) Kharchhen Chhogyal brought the slain to life.
- (5.) Pal-ki-yeśe turned three sylvan goddesses into his slaves.
- (6.) Pal-ki-Seṅge made slaves of demons, nymphs, and genii.
- (7.) Vairochana obtained the five divine eyes of knowledge.
- (8.) Ñaḥ-dag-gyalpo obtained Samādhi.
- (9.) Yu-drūñ-Ñiñ-po acquired divine discrimination.
- (10.) Jñāna-kumāra performed miracles.
- (11.) Dorje-Duñ-Jem travelled invisibly like the wind.
- (12.) Yeśe-Ñañ went over to the fairy world travelling through the void space.
- (13.) Sogpu-Lhapal (a Mongol) could catch ferocious wild beasts.
- (14.) Na-nam-yeśe could soar in the sky like a bird.
- (15.) Pal-ki-Wañ-chhyug could kill his enemies by the flourish of his fists.
- (16.) Den-ma-tse-Wañ obtained unfailing memory.
- (17.) Ka-Wa-pal-tseg could tell the hearts of other men.
- (18.) Shu-bu-pal-señ could make water run upwards.
- (19.) Khe-ḥu-chhug-lo could catch a flying bird.
- (20.) Gyal-Wai-Lodoi raised the ghost of the dead and turned the corpse into solid gold.
- (21.) Tenpai-namkha tamed wild yaks of the northern desert.
- (22.) Ḥodan-Wañ-Chhyug dived in water like fish.
- (23.) Ma-thog rin Chhen could crush adamant into powder and eat it as meal.

(24.) Pal-ki Dorje passed through mountains and rocks.

(25.) Lañdod Kon-Chhog could handle thunderbolts and drive them away.

(26.) Gyal-Wai-chhañ-chhub could sit cross-legged on empty space.

There also arrived many Indian Pandits among whom Dharma Kirti, Vimala-mitra, Buddha Guhya, S'anti Garbha and others were eminent, Dharma Kirti introduced the Tántrik ritual of Vajra-dhātu-yoga. Vimala-mitra and others taught mysticism based on Buddhist Tantrikism to their trusted pupils. They did not teach the principal works on differential and atomic philosophy, and metaphysics generally, to any but one or two of their favourite pupils. Tantrik principles being very subtle, intricate and holy, their diffusion was very limited.

The translation of some scriptural treatises such as Kun-chye Gyalpo Do-goñ-du, eight series of Gyu-thul, and Dupaidó, Vyákarana and Upadeśa were executed by Vairochana, Ma-Ñañ-Nub and other translators after Tantrik interpretation. Padma Sambhava concealed many profound religious treatises underneath rocks, mountains and beds of lakes, for the use of future generations, and afterwards retired towards the south-western quarter called Ña-yab-liñ or the land of genii. From this it will appear that during the reign of Sroñ-tsan-gampo the Tantrik Ñiñ-mapa made only a beginning, but in Thi-sroñ's time spread widely over the country. Padma Sambhava was its greatest teacher, and other teachers were his pupils and followers. Numerous biographies of him are extant, all of which give different accounts of his life. Though the biography of this great teacher is worthy of being treated at large, yet, as numerous historians give different accounts of his life, I refrain from writing about him. Some of the ancient writers state that he resided but for a few months in Tibet, during which time, by the power of his divine knowledge and purity, he subdued the demons and evil spirits of Tibet and founded the monastery of Samyé (Ssan-ya³²). After the departure of Padma Sambhava a certain Bráhmaṇa impostor having dressed himself in *Urgyan-Sahorma*³³ fashion, came to Tibet to pass for that great teacher and spread the different divergent Ñiñ-mapa theories. This assertion has been rejected by many of the best writers of Tibet who suppose it to be simply a fabrication to scandalise the Ñiñ-mapa sect. There are others who believe that

³² This is derived from the Chinese word San-yañ meaning the three bodies. The top of the monastic temple was constructed in Chinese style, the middle part in Indian style, and the lowest part in Tibetan style. This temple, in Tibetan, is called Samyé from Sañ-yaḍ, and is second in sanctity to that of Potálá but first in antiquity.

³³ The fashion of dress anciently in vogue in Uddayana, the tract of country from Gazni to Bactria including a portion of Persia.

the *Ñinma* doctrine had its origin in *Guru-chho Wañ*. The kind of costume, now known by the name of *Urgyan-Sahorma*, is said to have been introduced by *Chho Wañ*, who discovered some of *Padma's* works and flourished at a subsequent date and was a *Terton* (discoverer of sacred volumes.)

There are nine principal divisions of the *Ñin-ma* doctrine:—

- | | | |
|----------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (1) <i>Ñan-tho</i> | (4) <i>Kriyá</i> | (7) <i>Kyepa Mahá-yoga</i> |
| (2) <i>Rañ-gyal</i> | (5) <i>Upa</i> | (8) <i>Luñ Anu-yoga</i> |
| (3) <i>Chyañ-sem</i> | (6) <i>Yoga</i> | (9) <i>Dsog-chhenpo Atiyoga</i> . |

The first three divisions were delivered by the *Nirmápakáya-S'ákya Muni* (Buddha *S'ákya Simha*) and are called the general or common *yánas*.

The second three were delivered by *Sambhogakáya-Vajra Sattva*. They are called the external *Tantra-yánas* or *Báhya tantra-yánas*.

The last three are attributed to *Dharmakáya-samanta Bhadra* or *Kuntu Ssañpo*. They are called the "*Anuttara*" *antara-yána-traya* (according to the *Ñinma* school). *Kuntu Ssañpo* is the great and supreme Buddha, while *Vajradhara* is the Chief Buddha in the *Gelugpa* school. Again *Vajra Sattva* is second in the *Ñinma* school, and *S'ákya Simha*, being an incarnate Buddha, holds the third place.

Of the *Báhya* (external) *Tantra S'reni* and *Antara* (internal) *Tantra S'reni*, the external ritual or *Kriyá* tantras were delivered by Buddha *S'ákya Simha* himself. The "*Upa*" or *Karma* tantra and *Yoga* tantras were delivered by Buddha *Vairochana*, one of the five *Pancha Jati Buddhas*. The *Antara* (internal) or *Anuttara* tantras were delivered by *Vajra Dhara* (*Dorje-chhañ*) from his celestial mansion of "*Chho-Juñ-Yañpa*," the spacious mansion of *Dharma-dhatu*.

The *Anuttara yána* was taught by *Dharmakáya Samanta Bhadra*, (*Kuntu Ssañpo*) in his self-created form of *Sambhoga Káya*. When seated in one of the purest of *Bodhisattva Bhúmis* at great ease, by his omniscience, he taught incessantly in four times,³⁴ without error and falling into fallacy.

³⁴ Day, month, year and *Kalpa*.

- (1.) Every Buddha must possess the five *Jñánas* or divine wisdom called

- (1.) *Chhoki-vyiñ-ki-yeše*.
- (2.) *Meloñ-ta-bui-yeše*.
- (3.) *Ñambar-Ñed-ki-yeše*.
- (4.) *Sosor-togpai-yeše*.
- (5.) *Gya-wa-dupai-yeše*.

These five *Jñánas* being in themselves abstractions or vacuity cannot be active unless they are impersonated. They are therefore represented by

- (2.) the five *Pancha Jati Buddhas* or *Dhyani Buddhas*, named respectively :
- | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| (1.) <i>Akshobhya</i> ; | (3.) <i>Ratna Sambhava</i> ; | (5.) <i>Amogha Siddha</i> . |
| (2.) <i>Vairochana</i> ; | (4.) <i>Amitábha</i> ; | |

("bLa-na med-pa-hi theg-pa-ni, gDoñ-ma-hi-mgonpo chhos-sku Kun-tu-ḅSsañ-po lhun-grub loñs-spyad rdjogs-pahi-skur bśhañs pa-sa-dag-sa-la-gnas-pa-hi gdul-pya-la rtsol-med lhun-grub tu rgya-chhañ-Phyags-lhuñ-dañ-bral-var-dus-bśhir-dus-med-du-ston par-byed-chiñ.")

Numberless precepts and instructions, wide enough to bear comparison with the sky, were delivered, out of which a few were brought to Jambu dvīpa by Gaḥ-rab Dorje, S'ri-Siddha Māna-pura, Vimala, and Padma Sambhava. These Vidyādharaś who had obtained perfection clearly elucidated the different theories of Nīñma religion. There are nine classes of Nīñma Lamas:—

Gyal-wa-goñ³⁵ are the Buddhas, such as S'ākya Siṃha, Kuntu-Ssañ-po, Dorje Semba, Amitābha.

Rig-dsin³⁶ are the learned saints that from their infancy cultivated their faculties, and grew learned by their own industry and assiduity. Afterwards they were inspired by Yeśe Khaḥdona or the fairies of learning,³⁷ Padma Sambhava, S'ri Siṃha, Mānapura, &c. and other Bodhi-sattvas.

Gaṇ-sag-ñan³⁸ or the uninspired saints who carefully preserved the secrecy of their mysticism.

Kaḥ-bab-luñ-tan³⁹ are the Lamas who obtained divine inspiration according to former predictions in dreams, and therefore did not consult any teacher as usual.

Le-tho-ter⁴⁰ are the Lamas who, accidentally discovering some hidden scriptural treasures, became learned without any help from teachers or anybody else.

Monlam-tañ-gya⁴¹ are the Lamas who by dint of their prayers obtained sacred light.

(3.) The five Dhyani Buddhas being the personifications of the five Manas or divine perfections of Buddhahood are ideal personages. They were never born like S'ākya Muni, as understood by many scholars of Buddhism.

When it is said that such and such a Lama or Śramaṇa was the incarnation of such and such a Buddha, it is meant that he acquired an emanation of a portion of divine perfection so personified. Therefore every Buddha is a combination of five Divine perfections or five Dhyani Buddhas; for instance, the Taśi Lama is an incarnation of Amitābha, or the 4th Dhyani Buddha.

³⁵ rGyal-wa-dGoñs.

³⁶ Rig-ḥdsin-brdah.

³⁷ These are like the nine Muses of the ancients.

³⁸ Gaṇ-Ssag sñan.

³⁹ ḅKaḥ-babs.

⁴⁰ Las-ḥkhro-gter.

⁴¹ sMonlam-gtañ rgya.

These six are the higher order of Lamas; besides these, there are three which are of a practical nature. They are called Riñ or distant order, Ñe or nearer order, and Ssabmo or deeper order:—

1. Riñ Kañma. 2. Ñe-terma. 3. Ssab-mo-dag-nañ.

The Kañma are subdivided into three classes:

1. Gyu-thul. 2. Dupai-do. 3. Sem-çhhog.

Kañma-Gyuthul.

This class spread all over U'-Tsañ and Kham, being first founded by the Indian Pandit Vimala Mitra, who handed it down to his pupil Rin-çhhen Çhhog. Dophuñ Lama was one of the chief leaders of this sect. One of his pupils carried it to Kham, and another towards Dan-bag north of Lhasa and upper Tsañ, called Mañar, and upper Laddak. Again a third pupil of Dophuñ Lama, named Kañ-dampa, erected a monastery on a place which was of the shape of the letter *ka* at the foot of the Bombar mountains on the Di-çhhu, the great river of Kham Dirgi, in consequence of which his followers were called Ka-thogpa Lamas.

Dupai-do.

This dogmatic sect has only two true scriptural volumes, Múla Tantra or Kundu-rigpai-do, and Vyákhyá-Tantra or Dogoñpa Dupa. The Indian Pandit Dána-rakshita first taught them to the two Nepálí Pandits named Dharma Bodhi and Basu-dhara, King Ru-çhhe tsan of Brusha (Dusha) country translated them into the Dusha vernacular and spread them to the country of Thogar, upper Bactria and the Pamir.

Sem-çhhog.

This sect was taught by Roñ-sem-Lochava who was believed to have been an incarnation of Pandit Káláchárya of India. He was a profound scholar of Buddhism; being eminently versed in all the branches of sacred literature, he was unrivalled for learning in his age. There are eight ceremonies prescribed to this sect:—Jampal-ku, Padma-sruñ, Thugma-du-tsi, Yontan, and Phur-pa-thin-le, the five series of ceremonies, by which birth in this world can be avoided; and Mamo-botañ, Mod-pa-dag-ñag and Jig-tan çhhod-teñ for worldly good, consisting purely in propitiating demons. Of the first five ceremonies, those of Tam-den and Phurpa were instituted by Padma Sambhava who induced king Thi-sroñ to invoke the former and his Queen to propitiate the latter. Tamden (in Sanskrit Hayagríva) is a Tantrik god of wrathful temper, who vanquishes the demons. Phurpa is another deity who has a human head, and a body which is of the shape of a pin, standing on its apex. They are generally selected by Ñiñma Lamas as their tutelary deities.

The Tantrik ceremony of the worship of Jampal-ku and his attendants was instituted by Pandit S'anti-garbha. This is the mystic representation of Manju-śrī, who here loses all his amiable, benign and wise character, and is made to assume a very terrible and hideous shape, with several heads, and clasping a woman obscenely in his arms.

The Tantrik ceremony of Yañ-dag was introduced by a Tantrik sage named Huñkara, and that of Du-tsi by Vimala Mitra. The propitiating of Mamo, Modpa-dag, Jigta-chhonteñ and other local demons was intended by Padma Sambhava for the protection of the country, as they were bound by a solemn promise to contribute to the service of the world.⁴²

THE ORIGIN OF TERMA-WORKS.

With a view to preserve the sacred writs that they might not be spoiled by water or other agencies, Padma Sambhava and other illustrious sages, for the use and disciplining of future generations, concealed them under rocks. By their divine power they commended those hidden treasures to the care of the vanquished demons who were now made guardians of the land and of Dharma, and prayed that they should be discovered only by the pious and fortunate. They specified the time, name, race and signs of the discoverers in the preface of the books concealed, also, in mystic characters and language, where and when they might be known, on rocks and in other books. Such treasures as were brought to light by men thus specified, were called Ter-chho or hidden treasures. There are accounts of the discovery of such sacred treasures taking place in ancient India. The uninformed only may hold that with the exception of the Nāma schools no other religious sects possess "hidden treasures;" for many illustrious Lamas of other sects, actuated by the same motives as Padma Sambhava, had also hid volumes of their respective creeds. There were also instances of many impostors, who composed works with foul doctrines, and, to attach importance to them, hid them under hollows of rocks and old trees, and after the lapse of a few years, themselves brought them out to deceive the unwary and credulous.

The legendary biography of Padma Sambhava called Thañ-yig is the chief work from which many hints about the hidden religious works were drawn out by Sañgye-Lama, Da-chan and others which led to many valuable discoveries. Similar discoveries were made by other writers, about

⁴² Formerly in Tibet, as now in Sikkim, people used to kill animals to appease the wrath of evil spirits who were supposed to spread plagues and ride men or women. They were a terror to the people. Padma Sambhava abolished the system of animal sacrifice for which he substituted meal rice and cake sacrifices called *Terma*. This is the origin of Buddhist worship with flour cakes now so common in the Himālayan countries and Tibet.

whom no mention was made in any of the ancient predictions. The greatest number of discoveries were made during the reign of King Wañde who at one time invited many of the discoverers to one place and examined their respective pretensions. The discoverers of hidden scriptures were not required to take lessons in theology from any superior or spiritual guide. The mere discovery of the books obtained for them immunity from pupilage. Among those who acquired celebrity by such means, Ñimai-hodsser of Gyal-tse and Guru Chhoikyi-Wañ-chhyug were the most eminent. They were the arbitrators of the claims of the discoverers. Non-sébar was a zealous Lama who discovered many volumes of hidden scriptures and established one hundred and eight religious institutions for the discoverers, of which the one at Ta-thañ was well known. Among his discoveries were four medical works which were a great boon to the country, by reason of their diminishing human misery through their healing efficacy.

SSAB-MO-DAG NAÑ.

There were some Lamas who rose high in clerical dignity in this order. Some of them are said to have seen the face of the Supreme god who taught them religion. This class is common to other Buddhist schools of Tibet, but it obtained great celebrity in the Ñiñmapa school.

Of the Anuttara system of the Ñiñmapa, the Dsog-chhenpa sect is by far the most important and philosophical. In fact it is the chief of the surviving sects of the once most flourishing school of Tibet and Nepal. It is well known by the name of Dsog-chhenpa Lana-me-pai gyu. Atiyoga is its distinctive dogma. It has three divisions, Semde, Lónde and Manñag.

There are eighteen volumes of SEMDE scriptures out of which five are attributed to Vairochana and thirteen to Vimala Mitra. The LO'ÑDE scriptures, altogether nine in number, were by Vairochana and Pañ-mipham-gonpo. The Tibetan Lamas Dharma-boti of Jé and Dharma Señha were the most distinguished among the teachers of this theory. ÑIÑ-THIG or MAN-ÑAG-de is the most metaphysical of the three. It was first taught by Vimala Mitra to king Thi-sroñ and to Teñ-dsin-ssañ-po of Myañ. The latter founded the monastery of Ui-rushva where he concealed many of his works. At his death he left hints respecting his works to Brom-rinchhen-bar. Buddha Vajra Dhara first delivered this theory to the Indian Pandit Gaḥrab dorje (Ananda Vajra) who left it to his pupil S'ri Simpha from whom Padma Sambhava obtained it.

V.—THE LIVES OF THE PANCHHEN-RINPOCHHES OR TASI LAMAS.

(With 13 Plates.)

PART I. THE INDIAN INCARNATIONS.¹

I.

SUBHÚTI, THE STHAVIRA.

Subhúti was born in the city of Srávastí of a wealthy and accomplished Bráhmaṇa father, named Bhúti. In his former birth, he is said to have been a Nága from which he transmigrated to man. In his youth he acquired great proficiency in the six Bráhmanical Acts (Chárya) and the several sciences. Following the inclinations of his former life, he resided in sandel-wood forests which were filled with innumerable serpents, whence he was conducted before Buddha² by a truth-observing god.³ He was ordained a priest by Buddha's spiritual power.⁴ By his knowledge of the Dharma Sástras, he suppressed sins and thereby obtained the rank of an Arhat. When, by his fore-knowledge, he saw that in his former life he had been a Nága, his heart became greatly grieved. He, therefore, taught morality to 500 Nágas and 500 eagles⁵ who fed on the former, by converting them to the Bauddha faith. Buddha also had remarked that "among the galaxy of the learned, Subhúti shines like Venus (the Morning Star)." When Buddha delivered the Prajña-Páramitá on the top of Grīḍhrakúṭa Parvata, Subhúti served him as chief catechist (the inquirer as well as the solver of doubts by reference to Buddha).

Although, outwardly a man, yet by these means he obtained the Bodhisattva perfection of the Maháyána and became one of the principal disciples of Buddha Sákya Simha.

II.

MANJUŚRÍ KÍRTI.

Manjuśrí Kírti was born in the opulent city of Sāmbhala in the north, of royal parents. His father, king Deva-Indra, was said to have been the incarnation of the Bodhisattva Sūnyagarbha. His mother's name was Kauśikí. Six hundred and seventy-four years after the death of Buddha,

¹ Obtained from the works of the Indian Pandits who laboured in Tibet.

² Sákya Simha.

³ A Buddhist god is a Bodhisattva or Buddha. Such a god is not an ordinary god.

⁴ Buddha said, "let him become priest" and he became a priest. His hair and beard were shaven miraculously, and a consecrated mendicant raiment was thrown over his person.

⁵ He reconciled these two hostile races to each other.

according to Buton,⁶ in the year 159 B. C., Manjuśrī Kīrti ascended the throne of Sāmbhala. His sovereignty extended over hundreds of petty princes and a hundred thousand cities. During his youth he acquired great proficiency in arts, sciences and magic. It is recorded that within his kingdom there lived 300,510 followers of the heretical doctrine of the Mlechhas.⁷ Among these, there were many sages whose religion consisted in the worship of the vehicle of the sun (Ñimai S'īnta). Manjuśrī Kīrti banished the whole infidel population from his dominions, but afterwards, on their embracing the sacred *piṭakas*, he listened to their humble prayer to be permitted to return to their former homes. For the welfare of all living beings and especially of the people of Sāmbhala, he explained the Kālachakra system. At last in the year 59 B. C., bequeathing his throne to his son, Puṇḍarīka, he passed away from the world of sufferings, and entered the Sambhoga-kāya of Buddhahood.

III.

LEG-DAN JYAD.

This great teacher was born of a Kshatriya family in Eastern India to the east of Magadha. Being possessed of great natural talents, he very early learnt the principal systems of the Buddhist schools, promulgated by Nāgārjuna and other Indian saints, and by his great knowledge of sacred literature became prominent among the learned. He was ordained a priest by Nāgārjuna and wrote a commentary on the Mūla Prajñā of Nāgārjuna and named it Prajñā dīpa. He reduced Nāgārjuna's reflections into Svatantra and thereby founded the second schismatical sect of the Mādhyamika school, called Mādhyamika Svatantra. He also found fault with Buddha Pāla's commentary or *ṭīkā* on the Mūla Prajñā. There arose many followers of this great teacher, who greatly extended the Svatantra school.

IV.

ABHAYAKARA GUPTA.

Abhayakara Gupta was born in the middle of the 9th century after * Christ in Eastern India near the city of Gaur.⁸ When he grew up to

⁶ Buddha died 2713 years ago or 833 B. C. according to the Gelugpa Chronology, called the Ka-tan system. According to the Vaidūrya karmo of Desi saṅgye Gya-mtsho, followed by A. Csoma de-Korosi, the date differs by forty years. I have followed the more correct system of the Amdoan Chronologists and, in some places, Buton.

⁷ These were distinct from the Brāhmins, for a Brāhmaṇa is invariably called a Muteḡpa which is the same as Tīrthika. He is here called a Lalo Muteḡpa. Lalo means a Mlechha or Yavana.

⁸ Probably the eastern districts of Magadha.

youth, he went to the central country of Magadha, where he learned the five sciences and became well known as a pandit. It was here that he entered the priesthood. During his time there reigned in Magadha king Rāma Pāla, in whose palace he was appointed to conduct the religious ceremonies. By his modesty and liberal accomplishments he greatly pleased the monarch. During the first two watches of the day he used to write S'astras. In the third watch he used to explain Dharma. Up to midnight, sitting in the Himavana cemetery, he used to propitiate his gods, and, during the latter part of the night, to take rest and sleep. One morning a Dākinī disguised in a girl's habit, approached him with presents of meat and wine. Abhayakara, a man of stern morality, did not pay any attention to her, and the woman soon disappeared, and no one knew where she had gone. Afterwards he became anxious in his mind as to who and what she might have been, and searched for her in every direction, but without success. Penitent, he now confessed his mistake, when the selfsame girl once more made her appearance. He asked forgiveness and prayed to be endowed with foreknowledge, whereupon the divine girl, now resplendent in angelic beauty, thus addressed him: "Abhayakara! as in your former birth you were wanting in the faculty of discrimination, so will you continue to be during this life also; but as you have confessed your error, you will obtain foreknowledge during the interval between your death and re-birth. As a step towards its acquirement you must write many works on the Dharma S'āstras." After drawing his attention to the practice of constructing Maṇḍalas (in Tibet Kyilkhor) or the ritualistic circular figures of the Tantriks, she disappeared. Following the advice of this Khaḥdoma,⁹ he composed several commentaries,¹⁰ besides criticisms on other commentators. Once he visited the city of Chara Simha, ruled by a Chaṇḍāla king, who, a believer in the foulest sort of heresy, was preparing to make one hundred human sacrifices to his horrid god. Moved with compassion for the sufferings of these unfortunate men who were bound to the sacrificial pole, he prayed to god for¹¹ their deliverance. All on a sudden a hideous Koluber Nāga coiling round his body, extended its hood over his head. This dreadful sight so terrified the Chaṇḍāla king that,

⁹ Fairy or in Sanskrit Dākinī.

¹⁰ (1) Theñ-wa-korsum.

(2) Commentary on Khajor.

(3) „ Man-Ñag.

(4) „ Ñema.

(5) Sañye-thod-pai-nam-shé-mi-jigpa.

¹¹ The Buddhist triad or Ratna Traya. Before the Tibetans accepted Buddhism, they seem to have believed in the existence of God whom they called Kon-Chhog or the chief of the rarities or rare Being.

at the request of Abhayakara, he at once set the victims free. During the reign of Rāma Pāla, under the leadership of Abhayakara, the sacred religion of Buddha received a fresh impulse. There were three thousand monks at the Vikramaśilā Vihāra, and one thousand at Vajrāsana (Buddha Gaya). At great religious festivals and sacrificial occasions more than 5,000 monks generally assembled. Out of the one thousand monks of Vajrāsana, 40 of the Mahāyāna and 200 śrāvakas who were resident members of the monastery, received their food from the king's store. The Śrāvakas were so numerous in every place, that at times of religious prayer-gatherings their number generally exceeded 10,000. At the monastery of Otanta Puri there were 1,000 monks, including the members of the Mahāyāna and the Śrāvaka sects. Over the former Abhayakara presided. The Śrāvakas also venerated him for his great knowledge and practice of discipline (vinaya). He wrote numerous works on Buddhism, several of which are said to be extant even to the present day. He was succeeded in the High-priestship by Ratnākara S'ānti. King Rāma Pāla after a successful reign of 40 years abdicated the throne in favour of his son Aksha Pāla. Abhayakara died before the abdication and Rāma Pāla departed this life three years after it.

In the city of Sukhāvati there were many hunger-stricken beggars whose sufferings Abhayakara allayed by giving them food and drink from his mendicant platter, which was miraculously supplied from heaven. During his residence in the Vihāra of Vikramaśilā, under the protection of the son of king S'ubhaśrī of Eastern India,¹² the Turushka war¹³ took place. In this war Abhayakara played an important part.¹⁴ Afterwards he cured many poisonous snake-bites and arrested numerous bandits and robbers by the spell of his mantras. He achieved many wonders, the last of which was the bringing to life a dead child in the great cemetery of Himavana.

PART II. THE SIX TIBETAN INCARNATIONS¹⁵

(obtained from biographies).

V.

KHUG-PA-LHAS-TSI.

This great Lochava¹⁶ was born at Tá-nag-phu a town of Tsañ. Following the inclinations of his former life which he retained in this

¹² Eastern districts of Magadha.

¹³ He invoked the Dharmapālas (the spiritual protectors of the world) by making offerings and oblations. By their aid he converted his cornflour sacrifices into eagles which turned out the Mlechha intruders from India.

¹⁴ The invasion of the earlier Mohammadans under the Kaliphs probably.

¹⁵ These Lamas did not possess any royal dignities. They may, therefore, be called simply Panchhen, while the title Panchhen Rinpoché may be reserved for the later princely Lamas.

¹⁶ The Tibetan translators of Sanskrit Buddhist scriptures were called Lochavas or Lo-tsa-va. The title Pandit is applied to an Indian translator or learned man or sage.

life also, he learned the sacred scriptures from Thog-mi Lochava and others. He went to India where he served 72 religious teachers some of whom were most noted. He also learnt the sūtras and the mantras, more particularly the system of Tantrik ritualism called Guhya Samāja (Sañ-wa-du-pa). By these means he earned for himself the name of an eminent scholar. After his return to Tibet he became a saint. As he had the power of seeing the celestial mansion of the thirty-two mystical gods, he was called Shal-ssig-pa or the "god-seeing recluse." He promulgated the Guhya Samāja system of Tantrikism in Tibet. He had a great many pupils of whom four were well versed in the Māṭṛi-Tantra and Upadeśa. Having done his utmost to further the cause of holy religion and the good of living beings, he passed away from the world in righteousness and piety.

VI.

SAKYA PAṆḌITA KUNGAḤ-GYAL-TSHAN.¹⁷

This eminent scholar was born at Sakya in the year 1182 A. D. of the noble family of Sakya Jam-yañ-gon. His father's name was Pal-chhen-hod-pa and that of his mother Ñi-thi-tsam, and they gave him the name of Paldan-Ton-dub. During his boyhood he learnt the Sanskrit, Lanja, Wartu (the language of Bactria and Kafirstan probably) and Du-sha languages. He was admitted into the holy order by the venerable Tag-pa-gyal-tshan who gave him the religious name of Kungaḥ-gyal-tshan. From him he obtained instructions in the Sūtras and Tantras. Other Pandits taught him other branches of science and sacred literature. By his great proficiency in the five great sciences, namely the mechanical arts, medicine, grammar, dialectics and sacred literature, as well as in the minor sciences of rhetoric, synonymics, poetry, dancing and astrology, in short, almost all the sciences, and chiefly by his studying and translating the theological works of the orthodox and the heterodox schools, he acquired the name of Sakya Paṇḍita. He obtained a world-wide celebrity in India, China, Mongolia and Tibet. At the age of twenty-seven he went to the great Kashmirian Pandit S'ākya Śrī, by whom he was ordained a priest and instructed in the sūtras and mantras. On the return journey he visited Kyi-roñ¹⁸ where he entered into disputation with a Brahmanical S'āstrī, called Samkara dhvaja(?), and defeated him by his logic and quoting of authorities. The S'āstrī who had staked his life, now fled by means of his magical powers towards the sky, but Sakya Paṇḍita by the charms of his Mantra Vidyā brought him down tied, and subsequently converted him to the orthodox faith and obliged him to promise to take the sacred vows of priesthood. Desiring to shew the Tibetans the curious and peculiar religious dress of the Brahmanical priests of India he brought the

¹⁷ In Sanskrit Ananda Dhvaja.

¹⁸ Kiroñ in Nepal.

S'ástri to Tibet in his Brahmanical dress and signs,—an act which gave great umbrage to the twelve demigods and demons who are the sworn guardians of Tibet. They killed¹⁹ the S'ástri by making him vomit blood and tied his head to the pillar of the great temple of the Sakya monastery, which still exists. After this, Sakya Paṇḍita received an invitation from the Emperor of Hor (Mongolia) whose dominion extends to the north. He was told by his former teacher Tag-pa-gyal-tshan²⁰ that there lived in Hor²¹ a race of men who differed greatly in language from the Tibetans, and who wore hawk-like hats, and shoes resembling the snout of pigs. This teacher advised him not to harbour any doubts or fears about the people in his mind, but to go straight to that country to further the cause of religion and the well-being of living beings, in accordance with the prophecies of old. At the age of thirty-three²² he started from Sakya for Hor, and after a tedious and protracted journey of three years, reached the court of Goyugan the Emperor of the Tartars. He instructed the Emperor in religion and frequently discoursed on religion with him. Thus the barbarians who disbelieved in the sacred tenets of Buddhism were converted by him. The Maháyána system was introduced there.

The Nága²³ princes being pacified by the beneficial influence of the Buddhist religion, there was plenty of rain and water. Maladies of men and murrain were prevented from raging in the country. In Hor, the people lived in plenty and reared much cattle. Buddhism was made as powerful as the sun in dispelling darkness. In the city of Gyu-ma, at the age of seventy, in the year 1252 A. D., in the month of September, during the middle watch of the day, he quitted this mortal coil and entered the mansion of purity, solemnly escorted by a procession of fairies (dākinis).

VII.

YUÑ-TON-DORJE.

Yuñ ton-dorje was born at Gorma,²⁴ a place of considerable trade near Sha-lu in the province of Tsañ, in the year 1284 A. D., in the family of a

¹⁹ The S'ástri died of vomiting blood, probably caused by the intensity of the cold and the dryness and rarity of the air. All sorts of diseases are attributed to the wrath of evil spirits in Tibet.

²⁰ It is not clear whether Sonam-tse and Tagpa gyal-tshan were one and the same person.

²¹ Tartary or Hor includes Turkistan, Mongolia, and Manchu.

²² Illustrious Lamas cannot travel so fast as ordinary travellers do. At every stage Sakya Paṇḍita received invitations from the neighbouring princes and chiefs, which caused much delay.

²³ The Nága princes are believed by all the Buddhists to have great power over the distribution of water and the occurrence of plagues and cattle diseases.

²⁴ I call this place Korma; although the 3rd letter of the Tibetan alphabet is equivalent to Sanskrit *g*, yet it is pronounced as *k* by the Tibetans.

Tantrik priest²⁵ of the race of Lan. In his youth, he received instruction in the mystic *Ñiñma* system from a learned Lama named Dub-ten-S'ákya Phel. From his seventeenth year he received instruction from many other Lamas²⁶ of the *Ñiñma* school. Becoming a powerful charmer, he subdued the eight demigods and genii of the spiritual world. At the request of the Emperor Goyugan he visited China. Here he was engaged in conducting the religious services and ceremonies, by which means and more particularly by his moral merits he showed the path of spiritual liberation to others. Afterwards he returned to Tibet where he performed many acts of virtue. Being earnestly pressed by his mother, he took a wife and at the age of twenty-eight got a son. At the age of twenty-nine, seeing that worldly existence was illusive, he broke off the bondage and went before the teacher Tag-pashon-nu by whom he was ordained a priest and given the name of Dorje-pal. He also heard sermons on Buddhism from Rañjuñ dorje, Wuton-shag Khanpo-Yeše, and others. He established many religious institutions, such as Pheñpo-ri-vo-chhe, Garmo-chhojuñ, Taśi-joñ-kha, Chho-diñ, and Tag-gya-dorje-phodañ,²⁷ and wrote many books on the ancient and modern schools of Buddhism, called *Ñiñma* and *Sarma* respectively. Yugde Panchhen and others were his pupils. At the palace of Tag-gya dorje, in the ninety-second year of his age, in the year 1376, he entered the mansion of rest and peace.

VIII.

KHA-DUB-GELEG-PAL-SSAÑ.

This illustrious scholar was born in the year 1385 A. D. at Dag-shuñ. His father's name was Kungañ Taśi, and that of his mother Pudongyalmo.

He took the sacred vows of priesthood from the learned sage Señge-gyal-tshan and received the religious name of Geleg-pal-ssañ. He obtained the title of Master of Vidyá by studying logic and sacred literature at the monastic colleges of Sakya and Namriñ. In the 16th year of his age he commenced a controversy with the celebrated Pudoñ Panchhen which resulted in the defeat of the latter. From this time Geleg-pal-ssañ became well known for his learning. He also learned many Sūtras and Mantras from Je-tsun-Reñdah and other learned Lamas. At the age of eighteen he visited the great Reformer Lo-ssañ-Tag-pa,²⁸ from whom he heard many discourses on the vast and profound teachings of Buddha. On one

²⁵ Tantrik priests are generally married.

²⁶ Netan, S'ákya Señge, Taton-dsijig, S'erab Bum and Chhokyoñ Bum.

²⁷ Phodañ means a palace.

²⁸ Tsoñ Khapa, the great reformer of Tibet.

occasion Tsoñ khapa had remarked of Geleg-pal-ssañ that he (the young and intelligent novice) would one day prove a great promoter of Buddhism. From the twenty-second year of his age for a period of thirteen years he studied under the great Reformer and mastered the Sūtras and the Mantras. He read the excellent and most learned aphorisms, and embraced the reformed doctrines of Tsoñ khapa with unbounded faith. He was invited by Rabtan Kunssañ, King of Gyal-tse,²⁹ to hold a disputation with the venerable Chho-je-Rin-Chhen. The controversy, however, did not take place on account of the latter withdrawing from the contest. Aided by the patronage of Rabtan he succeeded in founding the great monastery of Gyal-tse, which with its eighteen Tvasañ (schools) still exists. At the age of forty-six he was exalted to the golden throne of Gaḥdan vacated by the death of the immediate successor of Tsoñkhapa. He met with great success in extending the Gelugpa system and thus promoting the work of reformation. In the fifty-fourth year of his age, in the year 1439 A. D., he passed away from mortal existence, to rest in the mansion of purity.

IX.

SONAM-CHHO KYI-LÁŅPO.

This scholar was born in the year 1439 A. D. of humble parentage on the boundary of Tsañ-roñ. His complexion during childhood being very pale, his parents used to call him Paḥu (calf). When he grew up he was taken to the presence of Gaḥdan Thipa (the great abbot of the Gaḥdan monastery) and other professors of religion. When the abbot demanded his name, he said that it was Paḥu. The abbot smilingly said, "from this day your name will be Sonam-chhyog-kyi-Láñpo (the bull of Fortune) as one day you will grow to be a Láñ or bull". He then admitted him into his monastery. At Gaḥdan, Sonam learnt the different branches of Buddhism, such as Abhisheka, Vyākaraṇa, Sūtra, Tantra, Meditation, Criticism and Upadeśa. He then returned to Tsañ where he got many pupils. By explaining to them the Dharma S'āstras he obtained the title of "the Lamp of religion." Consulting his tutelary deities he came to know that he would be required to construct a bell-metal image of Buddha full one cubit high. He constructed many images and also built the Udiñ Gonpa. Convinced that moral discipline and purity of conduct are the basis of all religion, he enforced the greatest strictness in the behaviour of his pupils. In the latter part of his life, he sent sixteen of his pupils to Taśi-lhunpo and Gephel monasteries. With a view to accomplish the object of his life he retired into solitude, where, free from the confusion and clamour

²⁹ Vulgarly called Gyañ-tse. At this time Tibet was ruled by many petty kings most of whom were called Dharma Rájas.

of monasteries, from inattention and idleness, and all anxieties of life, he could concentrate his attention on meditation and study. By his great erudition, application, and reflection he composed many elegant aphorisms and S'ástras. His tutelary deities granted him several interviews. Having obtained boundless Abhijñána he could find out supernatural secrets. At the age of sixty-six, in the year 1505 A. D., he quietly passed away from this world of pain and sorrow.

X.

GYAL-WA TON-DUB.

This great scholar was born in the year 1505 A. D. at Lha-khu-phu-pen-sa situated on the north bank of the great river Tsañpo, near the famous monastery of Chamaliñ, in the district of Da-gya in west Tsañ. His father Sonam Dorje, and mother Jomkyi belonged to the family in which some of his illustrious predecessors were born. No sooner was the child born than it manifested its compassion for the misery of all unborn and migrating living beings, by uttering the six mystic syllables "Om-ma-ni-padme-hum," at which uncommon occurrence the inmates of the house, with wonder thinking that the infant must be some saint or divine personage, gave it the name Gonpo-kyab. From his childhood, Gonpo-kyab had been fond of solitude. He is said to have seen the faces of Buddha and Tsoñ khapa, from whose hands he received benediction. When only eight years old, he saw in a vision, that, dressed in a white satin tunic and adorned with precious gems, he sat with a bell and a dorje in his hand on the disc of the full moon which rose refulgent from the top of the Segri mountain, and that the sound of the ringing of the bell filled the world. At the age of eleven he became a pupil of Je Tag-pa Ton-dub, abbot of Lha-tse monastery, from whom he received the vows of priesthood and the religious name of Lo-ssañ Ton-dub. He also heard sermons on Kálachakra, Bhairava, and the Bodhisattva Marga. He received instructions in the S'útras, Mantras and the system of mysticism called Guhya-samája. Thereafter coming to Tasi-lhunpo he became a pupil of the abbot Lo-ssañ she-Ñen in logic, but soon becoming disgusted with his subtle but trifling and useless system he gave up his connection with his teacher. At the age of seventeen he became a pupil of the sage Chhokyi Dorje and fully mastered the volume of precepts called Gañdan-Ñen-gyud. Afterwards returning to Tsañ he resided at the temple of Pamáchen near the Panám-Chomolha-ri.³⁰ Here his teacher the sage shewed him the volume

³⁰ The Chomolhari mountain, from which the river Panam or Pena nyañ chhu takes its rise and, flowing by Gyañ-tse and Panamjoñ, empties itself in the Tsañpo near Shiga-tse.

of illusive mysticism. Lo-ssañ composed four volumes of Ñen-gyud, (pleasing Tantras). During his residence at the castle of Ta-gya-dorje he acquainted himself with the terminology and signification of the classical writings both in the melodious Sanskrit and the insipid Tibetan. In this manner when his life and sainthood were uniformly flowing onward, at the age of sixty-five in the year 1570 he passed away from mundane suffering.

GEDUNDUB,³¹ THE FOUNDER OF THE MONASTERY OF TAŚI-LHUNPO.

(*One of the Grand Lamas of Lhasa.*)

This great Lama was born in the year 1391 A. D., at a place called Guñ-ru in the Dok-pa³² country between Sakya and Taśi-lhunpo. His mother's name was Jomo-namkye, and his father's Gonpo-dorje. They gave him the name of Pemá Dorje. Unlike other children, he was very handsome and of an amiable and pleasing disposition. When a child he used to collect around him a number of children of his age, and talk to them gravely, as if he were their religious teacher. His sports consisted only in making images of Buddhas, erecting chhorten, shrines, altars and viháras. By his command his playmates used to raise stone piles as if to repair the school walls. He seldom engaged in such sports as other children delighted in. At the age of seven he entered the Narthañ monastery, where he prosecuted his studies up to the fifteenth year of his age. Within this period he learnt the Tibetan, Hor (Tartar), Chinese, Wartu and Lanja³³ (ancient Buddhist Sanskrit) languages. In his fifteenth year he was admitted into the holy order by Dubpa-S'erab, abbot of Narthañ, and given the name of Gedundub-pal. He now acquired great proficiency in grammar, polite learning, poetry, arithmetic and other sciences, and also became well acquainted with the Sûtras and Tantras. At the age of twenty he took the vows of priesthood at the hands of the same abbot, and became famed for his strict observance of vinaya or moral discipline. By his perseverance and assiduity he became an attentive *śrāvaka*, a powerful thinker, and an excellent meditator. Unmindful of his personal convenience and temporal aggrandisement, and always thoughtful of furthering the cause of religion and the well-being of living beings, he went at the age of twenty-five to the province of U' to see the great reformer Tsong khapa, from whom he received much religious instruction, and who was greatly pleased with his conduct. Gedun-dub also received religious instruction from the two great Buddhist scholars Semba-chenpo Kun-ssañ and the venera-

³¹ The title of Gyal-wa-Rin-po-chhe was then not applied to the grand Lamas of Lhasa. They held the position of high priests only.

³² The mountainous portions of Tibet, are inhabited by the shepherds and yakherds who are called Dokpa.

³³ Ranja of the Nepalese.

ble S'erab-señge. Being well acquainted with theology and meditative science he performed many religious ceremonies and observances for the good of all living beings. At the age of thirty-six he returned to the Tsang province where his reputation as a great scholar in theology, disputation and sacred literature was unrivalled. At the age of forty-three he constructed an exquisitely fine image of Buddha Maitreya in the vihāra of Khudensá. At the age of fifty-six he was directed in a vision, by Paldan-Lhamo (the goddess S'rí Deví), to establish a religious institution. Accordingly he founded the great monastery of Taśi-lhunpo and furnished it richly with images and books,—an act which greatly extended the Buddhist faith. In the latter part of his life, while labouring under pressure of spiritual business, he succeeded in constructing several thousands of images of Buddha, Maitreya, Tárá, and the Bodhisattvas, besides working a gigantic piece of tapestry. His reverence for the congregation and devotion to the Triad was immense. He wrote five large volumes of commentaries on the Sútras and Mantras. He is said to have held communion with his tutelary deities, such as Bhairava, Tárá, Sarasvati, Manju-Ghosha and S'rí Deví, from whom he occasionally received prophecies. The purity of his morals made him adored by gods and men. At the age of eighty-four, in the year 1478 A. D., on the morning of the 12th month he was delivered from mundane existence. Amidst showers of flowers and music of cymbals and drums he was conducted before Maitreya the regent of Sukhávati, the paradise of the Buddhists.

XI.

PAN-CHHEN LO-SSAÑ-CHHO-KYI GYAL-TSHAN.³⁴

The important town of Lhen, containing 600 families, is situated on the confines of Tsañ-roñ. It was in the house of a wealthy noble of this town, where formerly many illustrious Lamas were born, that in the year 1569 A. D., Chho-kyi Gyal-tshan was born. His father's name was Pon-tshañ-tsherin Paljor and that of his mother Tso-chan. The Abbot Tshem-ta named him Chho-gyal paldan-ssañpo. Even in his childhood he is said to have given many proofs of his wonderful memory: while only three years old he was found able to recite the Manju-S'rí náma nidhi. At the age of thirteen he was initiated into the holy order by Kha-dub-yeśe and given the name of Chho-kyi Gyal-tshañ. Under the tutorship of this Lama, he learnt the mystical worship called Guhya-samāja. At the age of fourteen he was placed at the head of Weñ-gon monastery. He propitiated Yañ-chen-ma, the goddess of learning, for seven days, at

³⁴ First Pan-chhen Rin-po-chhe.

the end of which he saw her face, and welcomed her by singing seventeen hymns. The goddess in return presented him with a cup of gem-like fruits, by virtue of which divine gift, within the course of a month, he learnt by-heart five volumes of Tsoñkhapa's precepts. During this period, one night, he saw in a vision the image of Buddha, as high as a mountain, shining with the brightness of myriads of suns, and approaching him to confer benediction. At the age of seventeen he entered the Thosamliñ college of Tañi-lhunpo, where he studied psychology and logic, and obtained the high degree of Master of learning. At the age of twenty-two he was ordained priest by Pan-chhen-Yar-phel. In the latter part of the same year, he went to U' to visit the sacred images. Here he saw several happy and auspicious omens. Going to Gañdan he disputed with the learned in argumentative science, and secured for himself a world-wide celebrity. At the age of thirty-one he was raised to the sacerdotal chair of Tañi-lhunpo, during his tenure of which he ably turned the wheel of Dharma to promote the diffusion of the sacred religion. He was the first to introduce the annual prayer-fair at Tañi-lhunpo, executed twenty-three satin embroidered pictures, numerous tapestries, paintings and copper and clay images. He richly furnished the recluses' monasteries with religious necessaries. He ordained afterwards the Dalai Lama Yon-ton Gya-tsho into the priesthood and taught him the Kálachakra ritualism. As a punishment for their internal dissensions, he employed the monks of Tañi-lhunpo in erecting three lofty chhorten within the monastery walls. He entertained the monks of Será, Dapuñ and Gañdan several times, distributing gold pieces among them. At the invitation of the Rájá of Gugé he visited upper Tibet. At the age of forty-four he applied to the collected body of monks to be permitted to retire from the abbotship of Tañi-lhunpo, but their earnest entreaties dissuaded him from the resolve. After the death of the Dalai Lama, the Gelugpa church having waned greatly, he was invited to Lhasa where the Synod of the Lamas under the presidentship of the abbots of Será and Dapuñ appointed him to the pontifical throne of Gañdan, which high office he meritoriously filled. During his incumbency there arose a quarrel between the southern Mongolians and the Tibetans, which ended in the invasion of Tibet by Thiñgir-tho, the nomad king of Khokhonur.³⁵ Thiñger-tho's armies slew 500 Tibetan soldiers. The armies of Tsañ and U' consisting of nearly 100,000 soldiers assembled at the foot of Chagpori in the suburbs of Lhasa. Immense hordes of nomad warriors reinforced Thiñgir-tho's armies which were thus enabled to besiege the Tibetans and cut off their supplies. Unable to bear the sight of the distress of his countrymen, Chho-kyi Gyal-tshan sued for peace and delivered his country from the hands of the enemies by the payment of

³⁵ Kho-kho-nur.

a large quantity of gold and silver. At the age of fifty-three he initiated and subsequently ordained to the priesthood the successor incarnate of Yonton-Gya-tsho. It was during this period that he deputed Se-chhen-chho-je to the court of Thai-tsuñ-bogto-khan,³⁶ the first of the Manchu Emperors of China, praying him to assume the protectorship of Tibet. The Emperor gladly accepted the offer and sent him return presents of great value and rarity. Counting from the Emperor Shunchi, his son and successor, all the Emperors adhered to the Gelugpa church. This wise step which was calculated to save Tibet from the hands of the fierce and bloodthirsty Mongols, proved a failure; for, a few years after, the warlike Guśri-khan, the son and successor of Thiñgir-tho invaded Tibet, dethroned all the petty princes of Tibet, of Tsañ and U', and brought all its eighteen provinces under his single sway. He greatly admired the vast learning and moral purity of Chho-kyi Gyal-tshan, whom he afterwards appointed his spiritual guide. Chho-kyi Gyal-tshan immediately before his death received an embassy from the Emperor of China which brought him a letter written in gold and many precious and choice presents. It was the noble and generous conqueror Guśri-khan who made a present of the sovereignty of Tibet to the fifth Gyal-wa Lo-ssañ Gya-tsho, thenceforth called Dalai Lama.

Besides delivering Tibet from many political vicissitudes and clerical crises, he did a great many acts of social and religious utility. He wrote five volumes of sacred aphorisms, and introduced the Kham-tshan.³⁷ He classified the monks into orders. He received into monkhood more than 50,000 novices, and performed the ceremony of final ordination over nearly 100,000 monks. His charities amounted to 3 lakhs of gold *sañs*, or 18 millions of rupees.³⁸ Among his spiritual sons, the 1st and the 2nd Dalai Lamas were the most eminent; and among his lay-pupils, mostly princes and nobles of the country, Guśri-khan was the most renowned. At the age of ninety-three, at 12 A. M., on the 10th of the 2nd lunar month, in the year 1662 A. D., he passed away from this world, after a glorious and most successful career, one of Tibet's most illustrious personages. The Chhyag-Jo³⁹ of Taśi-lhunpo and the rich patrons of religion in Tibet conjointly subscribed 600,000 Rs. (10,000 *sañs*) to erect a gilt copper-roofed tomb over his remains.

XII.

LO-SSAÑ YE-ŠE-PAL-SSAÑ-PO.

This Lama was born of a high and noble family of Thab-gyal in a village of some importance in the province of Tsañ. His father's name was

³⁶ The Emperor Shu-chi.

³⁷ System of national Hostels.

³⁸ A gold *sañ* is equal to Rs. 60.

³⁹ Treasures.

De-chen-nyalpo and his mother's S'erab-Dolma. Being at once recognized as the incarnation of the late Pan-chen, he was conducted to Taśi-lhunpo in great pomp and procession, on the anniversary of the emancipation of Tsoñkhapa, on the 25th of the 10th lunar month. He easily learnt to read and write, and soon became versed in rituals. At the age of eight, he visited Lhasa, when, from the Dalai Lama Lo-ssañ Gya-tsho, he received the vows of monkhood and the name of Lo-ssañ-Yeśe. After his return to Taśi-lhunpo, he was made the president of the grand prayer-meeting called Tshó-chen. Even in his boyhood he won by his amiable and engaging behaviour the affection and reverence of all men. He heard many of the Dalai Lama's sermons. At the age of twenty he was ordained by Kon-choog Gyal-tshan. At the age of thirty-two he sent a congratulatory deputation to Pekin. The Emperor in reply addressed a letter to him inviting him to Pekin, but he begged to be excused for fear of small-pox. At the age of thirty-five he gave the vows of priesthood to the incarnation of the Dalai Lama and named him Lo-ssañ Rin-chen. At the age of forty he ordained him to the priesthood, but this Dalai having died shortly after, an incarnation was discovered who received at his hands the vows and the name of Lo-ssañ Kal-ssañ. In the year 1713, he received a letter written in gold in three different languages, Tibetan, Mongol and Manchu, from the Emperor of China couched in friendly terms. The Imperial seal-keeper Ja-sag-Lama accompanied the Envoy, carrying with him the Imperial Insignia and a large *Thamka* or golden seal in which was inscribed the title Pan-chen Erte-ni.⁴⁰ The Panchhen-Rinpochhe returned a suitable reply with excellent presents for the Emperor. He subsequently ordained the 3rd Dalai, Kal-ssañ Gya-tsho, and the grand Imperial Lama of Pekin, Chañ-kyā-Rinpo-Dorje⁴¹, and taught them sacred literature. By the faithful assistance of king Lha-ssañ of Tsañ, Tsheriñ Ton-dub of Juñgar and Pese-bá-dur,⁴² the exertions of this Panchhen in promoting the cause of human good bore excellent fruits. In the year 1728 the Emperor sent Ali-há Ampan to settle the boundary between U' and Tsañ. It was at this time when the kingdom of Tibet was about to fall into the hands of prince Sonam-Topgye, after the abdication of king Miwañ-Pholha, that the Imperial Commissioners requested the Panchhen Rinpochhe to accept the sovereignty of all the provinces of Tibet lying between Khambala and Kailāsa mountain. The Panchhen declined the offer several times on the plea of old age.

⁴⁰ Er-te-ni is Mongolian, and is equivalent to Rin-po-chhe in Tibetan or Ratna in Sanskrit. Pan is an abbreviation of Pañdita, and Chhen means *great* in Tibetan.

⁴¹ Called Changay Lama by Bogle.

⁴² In Mongolian Bahdur means a warrior or hero. Bahdur is probably the same as the Hindustānī Bahádur.

He said that the government of so large a country and its responsibilities were too great for him to undertake, and that he would content himself with his ancient possessions. But the Commissioners insisted on his acceptance, saying the Imperial mandate could not be disobeyed. He, therefore, consulted the then nominal king of Tibet, as to whether his compliance with the Emperor's commands would not clash with his interests. The king who was a pious prince advised him to accept the offer. The Panchhen, therefore, assumed the sovereignty of the whole of Tibet lying to the west of Panamá, including the districts of Lha-tse, Phun-tsholiñ, Namriñ, Joñkha, Ki-roñ, Ñari-kor-sum, and relinquished the possession of Phari, Gyal-tse, Yar-do-tsho, and other places to the government of Lhasa. He wrote eighteen volumes of sacred hymns and precepts. The number of monks that received the vows from him was very great. Thus devoting his life to the good of humanity and living beings he departed from this world at the age of seventy-five, on the 5th of the 8th lunar month. A tomb with a gilt copper dome, like that of his predecessor, but somewhat larger, was erected to his memory, at a cost of 12,000 sañs or Rs. 720,000.

XIII.

PAN-CHHEN LO-SSAÑ PALDAN-YE-ŚE.⁴³

This great sovereign Lama was born at Tañi-tse, a village of Shang⁴⁴ in Tsañ. His father, named Thañ-Lha, was distinguished for his wisdom, courage and frankness. His mother Jom-kyi was an honest and good natured woman. Previous to his birth there appeared to his father in a vision a golden chhorten, glittering with lustre, and his mother saw in a vision Panchhen Lo-ssañ Yeśe presenting her with a life-reviving vessel and some consecrated pills. There appeared rainbows, refulgent with five variegated hues in all directions, five yellow flowers growing out of a single calyx and corn bearing five pods and three ears. All men were singing and dancing with spontaneous mirth and joy. Amid such auspicious and happy prognostics, at dawn, on Saturday, the 11th of the 11th lunar month, in the year 1737, Panchhen Paldan Ye-śe was born. The extreme fairness of his person, and above all his lovely face attracted the notice of all men. At the end of the 2nd month the child lisped Om mani.⁴⁵ As he grew up, he was observed to delight at the sight of the monks of Tañilhunpo. Whenever he saw an *Āchārya* (Indian Buddhist) he used to say Bhálá,

⁴³ This is abridged from the Nam-thar, or biography of Paldan-Ye-śe, written in Tibetan in two volumes containing 2000 pages.

⁴⁴ Name of a district.

⁴⁵ The sacred Vija of the Buddhist as well as of the Bráhmans.

Bhálá⁴⁶. Sometimes holding the dorje and bell and at other times with joined palms, he used to sit in a pensive mood, as if to read or write. He was never known to delight in or amuse himself with ordinary and vain sports like other vulgar boys. When only three years old, he was found continually engaged in worshipping a bright and handsome image of Buddha. The fame of this wonderful child reached Taśi-lhunpo, when the Don-Ner Lo-ssañ Tson-du was assured by many of the re-appearance of the soul of the late Panchhen in the person of the said child. Accordingly, he equipped himself with some of the personal properties of the late Panchhen Rinpoche, such as the rosary, dorje, and bell, the articles used in consulting gods, mixed with several imitation sets, and arrived at Taśi-tse. On being subjected to the ordeal of finding out the real properties, the princely child easily and unerringly picked out all that belonged to the late Panchhen, and moreover called Don-Ner by his name though he had never heard it before. This excellent manner of acquitting himself established beyond doubt the identity of his soul with that of the late Panchhen. The princely child, now four years old, was therefore brought to Taśi-lhunpo with great pomp and procession. The Dalai Lama Kalssañ Gya-tsho gave him the name of Lo-ssañ Paldan Ye-se. On this occasion the Emperor of China, most of the Mongolian princes, the Táránátha Lama of Khalkha, the government of Lhasa with its dependent chiefs, and the three great monasteries of Será, Dapuñ and Gañdan sent him innumerable presents of various sorts. About this time a shower of flowers fell from the sky, which glittered with many a rainbow and conical halo of light. The atmosphere was laden with sweet fragrance. On a background of variegated clouds, the shapes of a lion, a tiger, an elephant, a horse and a man under a canopy of radiance, surrounded by innumerable flags, were manifest to the eyes of all. During the sixth year of his age he was carefully instructed in aphorisms and mysticism by his chief spiritual minister Lo-ssañ Yoñ-dsin,⁴⁷ from whom he received the vows of monkhood when only seven years old. In the 10th lunar month of the same year he took his seat on the chair in the grand worship hall. On this occasion also, the Emperor of China, the Dalai Lama, the king of Tibet Miwañ Sonam-tob and the different Mongol princes sent him presents, which amounted to more than 30,000 pieces of horse-hoof shaped silver, 5,000 gold *sais*, 10,000 pieces of satin, and 20 porters' loads of precious stones, such as turquoises, corals, cat's-eyes,

⁴⁶ In ordinary Hindí meaning "good", "very good".

⁴⁷ His full name is Dorje-dsin-pa, Lo-ssañ-sod-pa, yoñ-dsin. The Vajra-dhara or the holder of the Thunderbolt.

onyx, amber, and pearl: so that Taśi-lhunpo overflowed with riches. The young Panchhen gave sumptuous dinners to all the monasteries of U and Tsañ about 700 in number and distributed alms consisting of silver pieces to all the monks. At the age of eleven he came to Lhasa to visit the Dalai Lama. Although he received instruction in the S'āstras from the Dalai, yet he was seated on the right hand side on a throne as high as the Dalai's own. After a short stay at Lhasa he returned to Tsañ. At the age of fifteen he again visited Lhasa, heard some of the sermons of the Dalai Lama, made offerings to the two sacred images of Akshobhya and Gautama, entertained the Será, Dapuñ and Gaḥdan monasteries with tea and soup meal and distributed a great deal of money for charitable purposes. At the age of twenty he visited Lhasa a third time and received ordination to the priesthood from the Dalai Lama Kal-ssañ Gya-tsho. This time his great liberality in religious donations and endowments, offerings to the sacred shrines, and alms of a silver *sañ* (Rs. 2½) to each of the monks of Será, Dapuñ, Gaḥdan, Potálá, Radiñ and various other monasteries, numbering 118 in U and 370 in Tsang, made his name famous far and wide. There were few beggars who did not partake of his bounty. He also spent immense sums of money in administering medicines to the sick. The twenty-first year of the Panchhen's age was inaugurated by the advent to Taśi-lhunpo of Chañkya Rinpo-chhe, the Emperor's spiritual guide, the greatest of the Imperial high priests of the celestial Empire, to see the Vicegerent of Buddha in the person of the Panchhen Rinpoche. He made innumerable kinds of presents among which the following were the principal ones: 6 rosaries of pearls, coral and amber, 20 horse-hoof silver plates, 100 suits of Tartar robes of the very best China satin and numberless scarves. Chañkya Rinpoche stayed at Taśi-lhunpo for several months, and received from the Panchhen lessons in the Sútras and Tantras. In the year 1759 the Panchhen Rinpoche sanctified the golden tomb of the late Dalai Lama, whose soul was reported to have appeared in the person of the child. At the special request of the Emperor, he visited Lhasa. On examination he found that the incarnation was unmistakeably genuine, and gave him the name of Lo-ssañ Jampal Gya-tsho. After lavishing alms on the various monasteries he returned to Taśi-lhunpo. Three years afterwards he again visited Lhasa to place the young Dalai on the throne of Potálá. He commemorated the occasion by giving grand dinners to the temporal and spiritual lords of the country. The amount of gold and silver expended on this occasion could not be estimated. During the return journey to Taśi-lhunpo he visited Gyal-tse the monastery of which place he richly endowed. At Taśi-lhunpo he administered the vows of monkhood to several thousand novices. At the age of twenty-eight he visited Lhasa and initiated

the young Dalai Lama into the priesthood. In the year 1766 he received a deputation from the Emperor of China, consisting of Asákhan Kwañ Ampan, the keeper of the grand seal Ņag-wañ Paljor, a 3rd grade mandarin. Khi-ya-thelen, together with twenty other officials. They brought him the Emperor's letter written on thirteen gold tablets, each an inch thick, 3 inches broad and about 20 inches long. The following are the contents of the letter:

"The commands of the all-powerful Hwañ⁴⁸ (Emperor) derived of old from heaven, extend over all the world. The four great oceans alone encompass the reign of his excellent laws which are essential for the well-being and happiness of mankind. Throughout all the quarters in all ages, the fame of Hwañ's merciful and generous protection is proclaimed. He adores and venerates the sacred creed of the yellow hat of sublime precepts, whose saints, pre-eminently holy in the moral virtues, have toiled according to the canonical rules. Thou, O precious Panchhen! having fully comprehended the teachings of that sacred creed, sittest over the head of the Dalai Lama. Thy illustrious predecessor has obtained sainthood. Thou, too, during this sojourn in the world by the observance of discipline and moral rectitude, shouldst obtain sanctity. Till now thou hast grown more and more exalted. By this grant of a golden diploma and seal the all-powerful Hwañ respectfully appoints thee to the dignities and offices of thy spiritual ancestors, to be the sovereign, spiritual and temporal, of the great province of Tsañ. For the propagation of the sacred religion over all the earth, and for the spread of thy holy fame far and wide, thou wilt as of old have a general authority over all Tibet. Vouchsafe the blessing of thy mercy and prayers over us in this central dominion! The 4th day of the 1st winter month, in the 30th year of the reign of the Emperor Chhiñ-Luñ⁴⁹ (of Nam-kyoñ or celestial protector)."

To this the Panchhen returned a dignified reply. In the year 1770 he was invited to Lhasa to supervise the education of the young Dalai Lama. This time also he lavished his bounties over the monks and the beggars of the country. "In the year 1771 he received an embassy from the Duk-desi (Deba-Rájá) of Bhutan named *Shidar* (ཤིང་རྩ་) which brought him presents of some value. The Panchhen in return deputed one of his secretaries to Bhutan with a letter of advice. Being informed of the misconduct of the Deba Rájá towards the Ghatika Rájá (Rájá of Cooch Behar) whose territories had been invaded by the Bhutanese and who had himself been led in chains to the capital of Bhutan, the Panchhen sent a messenger to Bhutan urging the immediate release of the captive Rájá. The Deba wrote him to say that he (the Deba) implicitly obeyed the command of the Lama by at

⁴⁸ A Chinese word.

⁴⁹ In English works on China he is called Kyen-lung.

once setting the Rájá at liberty. The receipt of this letter greatly delighted the Panchhen. In the meantime the armies of the Ghatika Rájá had applied for help from the owner of Bangala (Warren Hastings), who having espoused the Ghatika Rájá's cause,⁵⁰ made certain proposals to the Deba, to which the latter did not agree. This difference gave rise to something like a war between the Lord of Bangala and Deba Shidar. It resulted in disasters being brought upon the Deba and in the occupation of a portion of his territory by the Lord of Bangala. To avert this calamity, Deba Shidar applied for mercy and intervention to this quarter,⁵¹ at which the Panchhen, unable to bear the miseries of a large number of afflicted people, sent a Deputy to the Court of the Lord of Bangala, entreating him to forgive the Deba Rájá his misconduct, to restore him his territories, and to put an end to further hostilities. Pleased with the mild and pacific tone of the letter, the Lord of Bangala at once complied with the Panchhen's requests. Thus by dispelling the causes of rancour and quarrel between the two powers, he established amity and peace, the direct consequence of which was the establishment of an unrestricted commercial intercourse between the different nations."

With a view to make offerings and oblations to the great Bodhisattva at Dorje-dan,⁵² to the sacred cavern of Gayá-gauri, to the great city of Prayága, and the great river Nairanjana (now called Lilájan or Phalgu), he despatched to India Tuñ-rampa of Doñ-tse Lo-ssañ tsherín,⁵³ and three Lamas together with nine young monks. The three Lamas, being unable to stand the excessive heat of the country, perished on the way. The Tibetan travellers had to encounter many difficulties and fears arising from the immense distance of the journey, the burning heat of the country, the venomous serpents, the wild and ferocious animals, and more especially from the bands of robbers that infested the country at large; and to crown their troubles, the princes of the frontier states had stationed guards to stop foreign intercourse. Yet, depending on the efficacy of the blessing of their spiritual Lord,⁵⁴ they succeeded in accomplishing their object. On declaring that they were the Taśi Lama's priests, sent on pilgrimage, the Rájás of the frontier states did not molest them. On the other hand they received friendly assurances and warm receptions from the different classes of people in India. The *Bhúpál* of Váránasí (now called Kási), named

⁵⁰ Rájá of Cooch Behar.

⁵¹ Tibet.

⁵² Dorje-dan means Vajrásana or the diamond seat of Buddha at Buddha Gaya.

⁵³ A town of considerable size near Gyal-tse. It is well known for being the spot where the spiritual prime minister usually takes his birth.

⁵⁴ Panchhen Rinpoche.

Chete Sing Bahádur,⁵⁵ to whom they carried the Panchhen's letter, gave them a cordial reception. He kindly provided the travellers with passports and letters patent which enabled them to travel in wooden conveyances,⁵⁶ as respectable parties. The same prince, having furnished them with convoys, they reached Dorje-dan in a fortnight from Váránasí. At Dorje-dan they made grand offerings and performed divine services of five kinds before the image of the Mahá Bodhisattva, and paid reverence to the Tírtha-dharas, and S'ivaridhi. They gave dinners to priests, beggars and other men. At this time, hearing that the Maháguru Taśi Lama's offerings had reached Dorje-dan, people from different quarters assembled near the spot to see the sight.

These spectators, full of faith, joining their palms, paid homage to the Supreme dispenser of mercy according to their own religious persuasions. They also made presents of edibles and various sorts of articles to these Tibetan worshippers. The travellers, having made their offerings at other important places of pilgrimage, arrived before the Prince of Váránasí who, according to the Maháguru's commands, conducted religious services at the Buddhist shrine of Váránasí. He showed much hospitality and kindness to these Geloñs⁵⁷ with readiness and pleasure. At last, in order to pay homage to the Maháguru Taśi Lama, Chete Sing Bahádur deputed his general Lálá Kaśmírí Mall and two of his officers, Gusankshi-puri and Sopa-ram, to Taśi-lhunpo. Accompanying the Geloñs they safely arrived before His Holiness. The account of the successful termination of this perilous pilgrimage, the offerings and oblations made to the sacred places and shrines, the hospitality of the natives of India, Chete Sing Bahádur's cordial reception of the monks and more particularly the arrival of the Indian envoys, with presents and letters, transported His Holiness with joy. Chete Sing's letter which was written in Nágari, when translated into Tibetan, ran thus :—

“To the most precious and exalted personage, the all-knower who sits like the parent of all living beings that inhabit the region encompassed by the heaven and earth.

“We are in receipt of your favour, the perusal of which has afforded us as much pleasure as could be derived from an actual meeting. The enclosure consisting of satin and gold has been placed by me on the crown of my head as the best of blessings. In accordance with your request, I arranged for the comfortable journey of the Geloñs sent hither by you. They visited all the important shrines and places of pilgrimage, such as Dorje-dan, Prayága and others. I provided them with letters of recommendation and passports as required by them, by means of which they travelled from place to

⁵⁵ Chait-sing, the Rájá of Benares.

⁵⁶ Palanquins.

⁵⁷ Buddhist priests in Tibet are called Geloñ (Skr. Bhikshu).

place, well received by all men. After fulfilling their mission they have returned here. The bearer of this letter Lálá Kaśmírí Mall is my faithful minister and general. I entreat you to be kind to him as well as to his companions, Gusankshi-puri and Sopa-ram, who are also my favorite and trustworthy servants. Every act of kindness and benevolence rendered to them will be gratefully acknowledged by me. I also entreat you to bless me now and then with your kind favours. We shall also send letters to your Holiness. All news about this quarter will be communicated to you by my minister General Kaśmírí Mall and the Geloñs. This letter of mine written in Nágari I despatch with the accompanying presents, consisting of a model temple of the Mahá-Bodhi-Manḍa of Dorje-dan, an excellent watch studded with precious stones, a mirror, tusks of elephant, yañti (jade) and many other curious articles."

His Holiness was exceedingly pleased with these presents and expressions. On the 11th of the 10th lunar month a gentleman, named Bogle Saheb (George Bogle), with a small retinue arrived in Tibet from Bangala (Bengal). After making presents which consisted of many curious articles of glass and toys, he solicited an interview with His Holiness. He was well received, admitted into the hall of audience and seated on a state cushion. After tea was served, His Holiness and Bogle Saheb conversed together on different topics in the Nágari language. On the day of the full moon of the same month, Bogle Saheb's party were entertained at a grand dinner and received many presents. The Panchhen often entered into long discourses with Bogle Saheb and evinced great delight at his answers and questions. His Holiness's kind attachment to Bogle Saheb resembled that of a spiritual guide to his disciple or of a Lama to his almsgiver. An account of his conversation with Bogle Saheb, and his correspondence with the Lord of Bangala will be found elsewhere. On the 7th of the 3rd month of the following year, after a residence of five months in Tibet, Bogle Saheb accompanied by Dagdor Saheb (Dr. Hamilton) and retinue, after attending a dinner given by His Holiness, started for Bangala. Making the usual salutation by prostrating themselves before His Holiness, loaded with excellent presents consisting of silk apparel and other things, and furnished with the Panchhen's reply to the letter of the Lord of Bangala, they rode off. A few days afterwards His Holiness dismissed the Envoy, General Kaśmírí Mall, with two of his assistants loading them with presents, and furnishing the Envoy with a letter for the Prince of Várāṇasí in the Āryavarta.

In the year 1777 the Panchhen visited Lhasa and administered the vows of ordination to the Dalai Lama. He also distributed alms to the different monasteries of Lhasa. At the age of forty-two, in the 1st lunar month of the year 1779, he received an invitation from the emperor of

China. The letter was written on a gold tablet, and inclosed was a pearl rosary. After compliments and enumeration of various titles, the emperor continued "Most precious Panchhen Erteni, I beg thee to honour me with a visit. I long to see thy face." The Panchhen in reply wrote thus, "I too long to gratify myself by the sight of the golden face of your Imperial Majesty. Accordingly I have resolved to start for Pekin." On the receipt of this, the Emperor in the course of a few months sent three letters one after another, thanking His Holiness for the promised visit. On the 17th of the 6th lunar month, on a Friday, at noon, His Holiness left Tasi-lhunpo for Pekin, little thinking that he would never return to his own country. At Yañ pa-chen great preparations were made for his reception. Here the Dalai Lama, the king of Tibet Thi-ehhen Erteni Noman Khan, the two Ampan, the four ministers of State, the Lamas, princes, nobles and householders of the realm assembled together to welcome His Holiness and pay him farewell honours. They all approached him with their parting offerings which consisted of gold, silver, blankets, ecclesiastical vestments, ponies, mules, yaks, jo,⁵⁸ and countless other things. The Dalai accompanied him to a distance of 8 days' journey, after which he returned to Lhasa from a place called Tasi-thañ.

He met⁵⁹ with his messengers on their way back from Pekin at Lhundubphug, a place on the west of Chha-dañ-La in the Kham country. Here he made a halt of three days which he occupied in conversation with the messengers. The emperor, in making inquiries, is said to have observed "How is the health of Panchhen Erteni? How is that of the Dalai Lama? Is the Dalai Lama making fair progress in gaining accomplishments? Request him, in my name, not to fail to honour me with a visit next year, by which time a great temple, like that of Potálá, will have been erected here in China. This year, also, I have raised a monastery like that of Tasi-lhunpo for him.

"My mind is eagerly waiting for the day when the Panchhen Erteni's advent will sanctify this place. I am occupied with that thought alone. When His Holiness arrives in the vicinity, I shall send Wang and the chief ministers of state to escort him hither. My heart will overflow with joy, when he will arrive here to converse with me. The very sight of his thrice-sacred face will increase my moral merits ten thousand-fold."

So saying he handed over to them his portrait to be presented to the Panchhen as a token of his deep respect for him. When the letter with the enclosures and the portrait were laid before the Panchhen, he was trans-

⁵⁸ A cross breed between a yak and a cow.

⁵⁹ 28th of the 7th lunar months 41 days after starting from Tasi-lhinpo.

ported with joy. He paid great reverence to the portrait, keeping it always before him. Then, by slow marches he reached Ku-bum.⁶⁰ Here he stayed till the 10th of the 3rd lunar month, residing in the new palace erected by the emperor of China at a cost of Rs. 2,50,000. Here in the Amdo country, there were 50,000 monks in all the monasteries, whom he entertained with food, besides distributing alms of one *sañ* to each monk. From the date of his starting from Tañi-lhunpo to the date of his arrival at Pekin, not a single month passed in which he did not receive five or six letters with gold tablets and rich presents. The Emperor's arrangements for his comfortable accommodation and convenience were complete. Each halting station was furnished with 2,000 pack-ponies, 100 dromedaries, 40 Mongol felt tents, 100 cotton tents, stuffed seats and cushions, chairs, and other furniture and utensils. A daily allowance of Rs. 3,325 was allotted from the Imperial exchequer to meet the daily expenses of the Panchhen's party. At each station there waited a chamberlain, a master cook, a Don-Ñer,⁶¹ a store-keeper, several purveyors, a chaplain, a Dorjelopon or master of the ceremonies, a physician, a chief of the grooms, orderlies, cooks and key bearers. The Panchhen Rinpoche's party consisted of 500 monks, 100 soldiers or guards, 800 servants, 100 clerks, besides a few Indian Acharyas⁶² Mongols, Chinese and Tibetan deputations, consisting of Le-hu Ampan, a few officers of the Ampan's staff, Eertení Nomankhan, Tá-lama⁶³ and many other officers of State. A large convoy of provisions also accompanied them. The Emperor sent for him his own private dress, belt, fur hat, and other necessities of a journey. Fruits and many sorts of dainties, and delicious dishes, and a few fish some of which were about thirteen feet long. The latter, though considered very delicious by the Chinese, were scrupulously avoided by the Panchhen and his party.⁶⁴ All the Lamas and chiefs of Amdo and Kham, the laity and the clergy, together with the princes of the 106 Mongol principalities, and the governors of the thirteen provinces of China proper, came to pay him obeisance and receive benedictions from his hand. Even on the way he gave the vows of monkhood to three lakhs of novices. By these kind and generous acts he won the affection of all people. He started from Kubum on the 10th of the 3rd month, and reached Siliñ fort, from which by slow marches he arrived at a place called Pelokhé, where a deputation from the Emperor, consisting of the High Commissioner Ta-phu,

⁶⁰ Vulgarly pronounced Kumbum. The birthplace of Tsoñkhapa.

⁶¹ The receiver of guests.

⁶² Pandits or Buddhists.

⁶³ High rank Lamas are called Tá-lamas by the Chinese.

⁶⁴ At Tañi-lhunpo fish life is considered very sacred. Although the rivers teem with varieties of fish, scarcely do the people of Tsañ kill or eat them.

high Lama, S'erab dorje, and others waited upon him. They brought him the following reception presents; a yellow sedan chair with golden spire, a pair of yellow and red umbrellas, a pair of red and yellow fans, embroidered with figures of dragons in gold, and numerous other things. Then slowly marching on he arrived at Taika,⁶⁵ where the Imperial high priest Chañkya Rinpoche, accompanied by the Emperor's 6th son, also arrived to receive him. The meeting was an event of great joy and happiness to both parties. After exchanging presents, the high priest presented the Panchhen with the Emperor's letter written on a gold tablet, accompanied by a Lama crown studded with pearls, pearl rosaries, one of the best steeds from the Emperor's stable, a Yañ-te (*jade*) saddle, gold pots, and fine sorts of dresses.

From here he started off in advance 2000 loads of Tibetan articles, consisting of images, blankets, shawls, &c., and travelling slowly on he arrived on the shore of Dolonor⁶⁶ where he halted for 8 days. Here more than a million of Mongols assembled to receive benediction from his hands. He was then invited to a big monastery belonging to the Chañkya Rinpoche, where, after giving dinners to the monks of 12 monasteries, he distributed alms to the mendicants. Proceeding on by slow marches, on the 22nd of the 7th month, he arrived at Ye-hor.⁶⁷ Here he was met by the chief ministers of state, ordered to be in attendance for his Holiness's reception. Party after party of the nobles and chiefs of the empire arrived, all of whom dismounting from their horses, thrice prostrated themselves before His Holiness. After the usual presentation of a *khátag* they received benediction from his hands. The procession of these nobles was a pretty sight indeed. At midday they conducted his Holiness to the top of a hill to show him the scenery of the surrounding country. His Holiness was delighted with the extreme beauty of the place. The green mountains and valleys, according as they were near or distant, resembled heaps of emerald or sapphire. The disposition of the natural obelisks of rocks, resembling so many piles of chhorten, and the fine verdure, with rows of juniper and birch, round numerous gardens, ravished his eyes. 'On all sides, there were bowers and orchards bearing varieties of flowers and fruits.' The green corn-harvest that filled the country, the endless springs, and silvery cataracts that poured forth their foaming water from the neighbouring mountains, and the charming serenade from the warbling groves greatly

⁶⁵ Called in Tibetan Tasi-Ohhog-phel.

⁶⁶ Lake Dolonor or seven lakes.

⁶⁷ Visited by Col. Prijevalsky who calls it Jehole or Yehole. The Chinese call it Ye-hor and the Tibetans call it Tshe-jole.

⁶⁸ Khatag means a presentation Scarf.

refreshed him who was so long tired by continual marches in the endless steppes of Mongolia, and broke the monotony of his journey. The Emperor's palace, envired by numerous shrines, appeared like a celestial mansion. The most remarkable of all the buildings at Ye-hor were the two monasteries called Potálá and Tasi-lhunpo, newly erected after their prototypes of U and Tsañ. Their workmanship and architectural finish struck him with wonder. Just as he was stepping to the back of this sublime eminence, there arrived, accompanied by Chañkya Rinpoche and many high officials, the Emperor's prime minister Ar-a-phu-gúñ, to conduct His Holiness before the Emperor's presence. First they presented him with the Emperor's *khátug*⁶⁸ and with tea. He was then conducted, carried on a State sedan, towards the palace gate, the left and right sides of which were lined with innumerable banners and umbrellas, amidst the solemn and imposing music of drums, cymbals, and clarionets. The Emperor, descending from his throne, came to the door of the reception-room to welcome His Holiness. As soon as he saw the Emperor's face, the Panchhen was attempting to kneel down, when the Emperor stopped him. Then the Emperor, presenting the auspicious *khátug*, softly touched his hands and said—"Welcome, Lama! Is your Holiness's health all right? On account of the length and tediousness of the journey, I believe your Holiness has become exceedingly fatigued?" "By your Imperial Majesty's mercy and kindness," replied the Panchhen, "no fatigue or weariness could do me harm." After a copious exchange of sincere and polite expressions, the Emperor, holding his hand, conducted him to the top of a spacious throne where, seated confronting each other, they conversed as intimate friends. The Emperor added, "Your Holiness has arrived here at a very happy and auspicious time. To-day is the 70th anniversary of my birth. I am exceedingly delighted." After a few minutes' stay here, the Emperor conducted him to the great palace, where seated as before, they both refreshed themselves with delicious tea and engaged in conversation. On this occasion the Emperor took off from his own neck the necklace of pearls of inestimable value,—each pearl as large as an apricot—and put it on the Lama's neck. He also presented His Holiness with a yellow satin hat, the top of which was adorned with a pearl as large and regular as a hen's egg. Presently, they went to the new monastery of Tasi-lhunpo where a grand and sumptuous dinner was served. As soon as it was finished, the Panchhen's presents were laid before the emperor. They consisted of a silver mañdal, images of Buddha, Tsoñkhapa and Sambhara wrought in solid gold, one thousand gold *sañs*,⁶⁹ 1000 saddle ponies, turquoises, corals, and amber, besides incense sticks,⁷⁰ European

⁶⁸ A gold *sañ* is equivalent to 60 Rupees.

⁷⁰ Called in China joss-sticks.

broadcloth, Tibetan broadcloth, and shawls, all of which formed 100 horse-loads. The Jasag Lama's⁷¹ presents to the Emperor were half as much as those of his master the Panchhen Rinpoche. The Sapon-Chhenpo and chamberlain⁷² also made presents, each half as much as the above. The Emperor, at the first meeting, had made the following presents: Mañ-dals of gold and silver, three excellent embroidered pictures of the three Tantrik systems, Guhya-Samāja, Sambara Chakra, and Bhairava Chakra, a few of the finest gold painted China cups, a gold mendicant's platter, a gold spittoon, a gold water-sprinkler, a pair of gold vases, a gold incense-burner, a square brocade carpet studded with turquoise; many articles of jade and crystal, 500 scarves, 500 gold *sañ*, 50 of the very best satin robes, 9 tiger skins, 9 leopard skins, 9 fox skins, 1000 white ermine skins, 1000 beaver skins, and 1000 lamb skins of the finest fur. The Jasag Lama and others also received suitable presents. The next day the emperor went to return visits at the Panchhen's residence at Ye-hor Tsāilhunpo. From the 23rd of the month for two days they met each other twice or thrice daily and talked on various topics, each time exchanging presents. From the 25th for 12 days they spent their time in witnessing magical and illusive feats and performances, wonderful sights, horse-racing, dances, operas and theatricals. During his residence at Ye-hor the Panchhen did not forget his religious duties. He initiated many thousands of monks, made offerings to all the temples and vihāras, and distributed alms to the congregation of monks. All these acts of piety and virtue raised him high in the Emperor's esteem. One day the Emperor presented him with a seal of yañti (jade) and a diploma written on golden tablets. In his conversation the Emperor expressed great anxiety for the welfare of the Tibetans—"How is the Dalai progressing in his studies? What interest does he shew in hearing religious sermons? Does he possess intelligence and talents? Does he show parental love and affection for his subjects? What is his age? What are the religious accomplishments of the Panchhen himself?"—were some of the points of his enquiries, to all of which excellent answers were given by his Holiness. The Emperor, in accordance with the custom of his ancestors, presented the Panchhen with the Imperial Diploma and seal, appointing him the sovereign of the whole of Tibet,⁷³ advising him to exert himself well to promote religion and the welfare of his subjects. The Panchhen then addressed the Emperor:

⁷¹ Jasag Lama is the prime minister of the Panchhen Rinpoche and Lord Treasurer of Tsāñ.

⁷² Called in Tibetan Dsimpon.

⁷³ This does not rob the Dalai of his right, because the Panchhen and the Dalai bear the relation of spiritual son and father, *vice versa* when they differ in age, and of brothers when they are of equal age.

"O Heaven-elected sovereign, incarnate Manju-ghosha!⁷⁴ Thou who art like the parent of all moving beings inhabiting this earth and the illuminated firmament, especially of China, Tibet and Tartary (Hor), hast vouchsafed to show so much kindness to such a petty Lama as my humble self. Wherefore we shall gratefully apply ourselves to praying to the three Holies to prolong your Imperial Majesty's life and happiness. There is nothing more to convey to your Majesty than the expressions of our sincere thanks and assurance of serving your Majesty to the best of our power in all spiritual matters." On the 28th of the 8th lunar month they bid good-bye to Yehor. On the 1st of the 9th month the Panchhen arrived at the yellow shrine of the Imperial palace of Pekin where he took up his residence. The Emperor paid him a visit at the palace of Kema park. On the 10th he was invited to the Emperor's palace, where he spent three days. This time both he and the Emperor conversed in private, for 6 hours. Afterwards he visited all the palaces of the Emperor, conversed with the chiefs and nobles of Pekin, sent offerings to the 28 temples of the Emperor, and distributed alms and food to about 10,000 monks. The Emperor entertained him with several dinners and theatricals, and at times he heard his sermons. Even at Pekin his Holiness did not fail to administer the vows of priesthood to several thousand monks.

On the night of the 25th he felt a strong headache and irritating pains in his nose. In the morning he communicated his ailment to his servants. Next morning Sapon Chhenpo asked him how he felt during the night. Nothing very serious, replied the Lama. On the night of the 26th he did not take any food and said that he ailed very much. He also complained of colic and biliousness. All these symptoms of approaching danger alarmed the Sapon Chhenpo who at once communicated his fears to his colleagues. The Chañkya Rinpoche and some of the Emperor's physicians, came to feel his pulse. They declared, that except some disorders and bodily agitations, they saw nothing so serious in his pulse as would tend to endanger his life. On the 27th his Holiness performed the service of Mahákála for the Emperor's benefit. Hearing of the illness of his Holiness from the Chañkya Rinpoche, the Emperor requested him to take a few days' rest. The Panchhen himself also thought that a short cessation from labour might do him good. After a few days' rest, he seemed to recover. During this time he performed many pious acts, giving alms to 7,500 beggars, and ransoming 3,00,000 animal lives. His illness again returned. The Emperor, unmindful of ceremonies, privately attended him with two of his chief physicians who administered medicines to him. After this, his sprightliness to some extent increased, and his cheerfulness revived.

⁷⁴ The Emperor of China is the incarnation of Manju S'ri or Manju Ghosha, the Lord of learning and wisdom.

He was always merry when in the company of Chañkya Rinpochhe and the Emperor's fifth son. Outwardly, there were no traces of indisposition, but it was apparent that his usual temper and appearance had undergone some change, and his friends and servants when they saw that he could take no food at all became very uneasy at heart. Once, Sopon Chhenpo, drawing up his sleeves, saw an eruption resembling small-pox on his arms. He at once showed it to the Jasag Lama.

Being informed of this, the Emperor immediately sent his best physicians to attend his Holiness. Examining the pulse, they found nothing ominous, but could not mistake the eruption as other than that of small-pox. They gave him some medicines, but to no effect. He soon succumbed. On the 1st of the 11th month, he sent for the two Indian Pandits who had accompanied him in all his travels from Taśi-lhunpo, one of whom happened to be absent, but the other, named Purnagir, came. Seeing Purnagir's face, his Holiness's became cheerful, and his last words were addressed to Purnagir in the Ārya language. In the afternoon, sitting up in a cross-legged posture like Buddha Amitábha, he passed away from this world. A few minutes after, his person, still retaining its former brightness, contracted to the size of a boy. During this portentous interval there appeared many auspicious omens and sights. This melancholy event cast the whole of Pekin into mourning. The Emperor overwhelmed with sorrow, did not come out of his chamber for many days. The Sopon Chhenpo, Jasag Lama, Chañkya Rinpochhe were the chief mourners. The Emperor preserved the corpse in a coffin of gold and made offerings to it for 100 days. The Emperor and the government of Tsañ distributed immense alms to the mendicants and the destitute for the benefit of the departed. Offerings were sent to all the monasteries and religious establishments of China, Amdo, Tibet and Hor for the increase of the moral merit of the deeply lamented Panchhen, which cost 32 millions of Rupees. The Emperor constructed a chhorten of gold at a cost of 42,000 Rupees or 7,000 gold *sañ* in which the coffin was placed. On the 12th of the 2nd month, in the following year he sent up this massive tomb to Taśi-lhunpo, engaging 500 conveyors. The Chañkya Rinpochhe and the 6th prince accompanied the remains as far as three days' journey. Great honours were paid to the remains of this deeply lamented and illustrious guest by all classes of men of the celestial Empire. The arrangements for the reception of the remains were equal to what were made for the Panchhen during his journey. At the command of the Emperor the Ampan and many of the generals accompanied the remains to Taśi-lhunpo. Immense offerings were made to the coffin on the way. Headed by the Dalai Lama, all the Lamas of U and Tsañ came to make obeisance to their late beloved spiritual guide and sovereign whose remains reached Taśi-lhunpo on the 21st of the 6th month.

All the earnings of the deceased were spent in pious services. About 200,000 silver *sañ* were expended in alms to the poor, and all the presents, made by the Emperor, together with those obtained from other sources, of the estimated value of 4,15,665 *sañ* were spent in erecting his tomb and in decorating and adorning it with precious stones and satin flags on which were woven such mystic phrases as Ye-dharma-hetu, &c. This was the greatest and noblest and perhaps the wisest of the sovereign Lamas that ever appeared within the snow-girt realm of Tibet. Equally wise and noble was his friend the great Chhiñluñ, the Emperor of the celestials.

*Names of the important Stages of Taśi Paldan Yeśe Lama's Journey
from Taśi-lhunpo to Pekin. 1779 A. D.*

བད་

TIBET.

- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| བཙ་ཤིས་གཤོངས་ | 1. Taśi-śoñ (a village). |
| རོ་རྩེ་པོ་ | 2. Dorje-pó (a village). |
| ལུ་ག་གོང་གཞིས་ཀ་ | 3. Lug-doñ-shiká (a large village). |
| གཙུང་གཙུང་ན་ག་ | 4. Tsañ-tsañ-naga (a small lake). |
| གཞོང་གཞོང་གོང་དགར་ | 5. Shoñ-shoñ-dóñ-kar-gañ (an insignificant vil-
lage). |
| ལྷ་བ་ | |
| ལྷ་བ་ཐུ་དགར་ཐུ་གས་ | 6. Lha-bu-kar-teg. |
| རྩ་བ་བས་སུ་མ་མེ་ | 7. Ta-bab-sum-do (the junction of three roads). |
| འཛོམ་ཐང་ | 8. Dsom-thañ (plain). |
| ལྷ་ས་ཐང་གོང་ | 9. Lhá thañ-koñ (pasture plain). |
| མ་ཐུང་སུ་མ་མེ་ | 10. Má-kyañsum-do. |
| གཡུང་རྩུང་རྩུང་པ་ | 11. Yañ-tuñ-sam pa (bridge). |
| སོག་བུ་ལམ་ནག་ | 12. S'og-bu-lam-nag. |
| སོག་བུ་ཕ་ལྷ་ས་ | 13. S'og-bu-pa-lha. |
| ཡངས་པ་རྩལ་བཙ་ཤིས་ | 14. Yañ-pa-Chan, taśi thoñ-mon. (River Yañ-pa-
chan with a bridge.) |
| མཐོང་མོན་ | |
| ན་ཐུ་མོ་ | 15. Na-thu-mo, (one day's journey west of Lhasa). |

16. Sha-búg.
 17. Bas-tshañ-lha-chhui-kha (river)
 18. Kur-karmai-do.
 19. Ne-u-thañ.
 20. Dam-tod-taśi-thañ (a large village).
 21. Chhorten-gya-pá (there is a Chhorten near it).
 22. Bab-roñ (a small village).
 23. Na-tañ-mo.
 24. Wyug-chhu-kha (river).
 25. S'a-pur-thú (swampy place).
 26. Chhu-kar-mo (river).
 27. Nak-chhu-mani (a long Mendañ near the vil-
 lage. This is the boundary between Tibet
 and Kham).

ཁམས་

KHAM.

28. Nak-chhupar-bu (a large town with a garri-
 soned fort and a monastery).
 29. Tha-tshañ-la-deb.
 30. Chhu-nak-gan (steppe).
 31. Chyo-pho-de-roq (steppe).
 32. S'ag-thil (steppe).
 33. Tag-kar-mo (steppe).
 34. N'úg-lai-sam (a high mountain).
 35. Lhún-dúg-búg (steppe).
 36. Dañ-la (a high mountain).
 37. Tsha-chhú-kha (a hot spring).
 38. Bal-va-lú-yúl (steppes).
 39. Aka-dam-chhú (an extensive swamp).

¹ A mountain of low altitude.

39. བྱ་ཀར་ཅུ་བ་ Tag-kar-chhuñ-va (a rocky hill).
 40. བྱ་ཀར་ཅེ་བ་ Tag-kar-chhe-va (a rocky peak).
 41. ཏོ་ལོན་ཐུ་རྩ་ To-lonpá-thur (a cluster of seven mountains).
 42. རྩ་ཆུ་རྩ་ Kyañ-chhúi-núb (river).
 43. མེ་ཐོ་ཐང་ Me-dothañ (a plain filled with flints).
 44. ས་ཁུཔུན་གྱི་ཤར་དོས་ San-khúpún-gyísar Ño-kyithañ.
 45. ཐི་ཐང་
 46. ཏུན་དུག་ལྗེ་ Tuñ-dúgdá (steppe).
 47. ཏུན་ཏི་ཁོག་ Tuñ-ti hog (steppe).
 48. མ་མོ་ཅེ་ Na-mo-chhe (steppe).
 49. ཧོར་ཅེན་ལུ་མགོ་ Hor-chhendúl-go (steppe).
 50. ཐ་ཚམས་སུ་མ་དོ་ Tha-tshañsúm-do (steppe).
 51. དེ་ཅུ་ Di-chhú (a great river larger than the Tsañpo near Tasi-lhunpo.)
 52. འདྲེ་གོ་ལའི་ལྗོ་མཉམ་ Di-go-lailho-sám.
 53. འདྲེ་གོ་ལའི་ཐུང་མཉམ་ Di-goi-laichyañ-sám.
 54. འདྲེ་ཆུ་རྩ་ལྗོ་མཉམ་ Di-chhúilho-dam.
 55. མ་མོ་ཅེ་ Na-mo-chhe (steppe).
 56. ལ་བ་ཅི་དཀར་ཆུང་ Lab-tse-kar-chhúñ (obo).
 57. ཆུ་དམར་ཁ་ Chhú-mar-kha (river).
 58. གཡམ་མགོ་ལ་ཕྱེད་ Yak-go-lá-teñ (a high mountain).
 59. སུའུ་སུ་མ་དོ་ Saú-súm-do (steppe).
 60. ལཱ་མ་ལུ་ Lañ-ma-lúñ (steppe).
 61. པ་ཡན་ཀ་འའི་ལ་མཉམ་ Pa-yan-ha-rai-la-sám (a high mountain).
 62. ལ་ཏེ་མག་ལ་མཉམ་ La-tehgal-na-sám (on the back of this mountain).
 63. ལ་མཐོ་ལོ་ག་ La-matho-lo-ga (a small hill called Lama's Skull).

¹ A high mountain.² North face.³ South bank of Di-chu.

64. Zemá-thaŋ (thorny plain).
 65. Khú-khú-Áma (steppe).
 66. Tshokya-riŋ (a lake about 5 miles in length
and a mile in breadth).
 67. Ma-chya (steppe).
 68. Tsho-somá (small lake).
 69. Bo-hase-be-sú (steppe).
 70. The-men-khú-tsu (steppe).
 71. Dam-kar (steppe).
 72. Ma-ehhenbom-raikaŋ-ri-thoŋ (snow moun-
tains).
 73. Túrínur gyi-lhoharasé (lake).
 74. Árig-chhú-tshen (a hot spring).

ཕྱོད་སྐད་

UPPER MONGOLIA, KHOKHONUR.

75. S'o-ro-la (low mountain range).
 76. Ur-ge-ta-tshaŋ (a camp monastery).
 77. Chhú-migmé-loŋ (streamlet).
 78. S'a-la-thú (nomad village).
 79. Alonbú-lag (contains many fountains).
 80. Ta-tshaŋtasi-gadanpal-jor-liŋ (monastery lo-
cated in stone building).
 81. Ha-tho-lai (inner side of a mountain).
 82. Tsho-Ōn-po (lake Khokhonur).
 83. Kúŋ-khú-ré (nomad village).
 84. Ho-yor-tho-lo-keh (two peaks).
 85. Khú-khúlo-keh (a hill).
 86. Tsha-gantho-lo-keh (a hill).

¹ A very high and snowy mountain.

¹ནི་དྲུ་ལ་

ཐོང་ཁོང་པོ་པ་

87. *Ñi-Dai-La* (the mountains of Sun and Moon).88. *Toñ-khorgon-pa* (monastery presided over by a *Khutug-tu* and containing 300 monks).

ཨ་མདོ་

²ཁ་ཤིང་པ་

ཐོང་ཁོང་པོ་པ་

གོ་ལྷ་མཁར་

ཏི་མཁར་པོ་

³ཐུ་འབྲུག་89. *Hal-jin-ta-pa*.90. *Ton-khorkhar* (a fort and a town).91. *Go-kyakhar* (a fort and small town).92. *Tē-marthañ* (a fertile plain).93. *Kú-búm* or vulgarly *Kúm-búm* (a large town).

ཁྱུ་

CHINA.

ཁྱུ་ལོང་མཁར་

94. *Siliñ* (fortress and town containing 300,000 men).

ཞི་ཡན་པང་ཡི་

ཡིན་ཐུང་ཡི་

ཁྱུ་ཏན་ཅི་

ཞི་ཡི་མཁར་

95. *Shi-yañ Phañ-yi* (a Chinese town).96. *Phin-túñ-yi* (a town).97. *Kaú-ten-tsi* (a small town).98. *Nen-pi* (khar or fort and town with a population of 30,000).

ལ་པ་ཆིང་

པིང་ཁུ་ཤན་

ཁོ་ཐོང་ཡི་

ཁོ་ལང་ཅ་

ཐོང་ཅ་ཡི་

ཐོང་ལང་མཁར་

99. *La-pa-chhiñ* (a small town with about 10,000).100. *Piñ-kú-śan* (small town).101. *Ho khyo-ú yi* (town).102. *S'o-lañ-tsi* (small town).103. *Thoñ-cho-yi* (small town).104. *Toñ-lañ* (khar or fort and large town containing 60,000 men).

པིང་ཆིང་ཐུ་

105. *Phiñ-chhiñ-phu* (a village).¹ A mountain of moderate elevation.² A low mountain.³ Birth-place of Tsoñkhapa.

ཐུང་ས་

106. Ssuñ-sán (a town containing 20,000).

ཁྱང་ཁོ

107. Khwañ-ko (village).

ས་ཡན་ཁང་

108. Sa-yan-jañ (military outpost).

དན་ཅི

109. Ṭun-tsi (a village).

ཡིན་ཡིང་ཁྱ

110. Yin-phiñ-shú (a village).

སྤྱང་སྒོག་

ALAKSHA, LOWER MONGOLIA, IN THE SENSE
THAT THE MONGOLIAN PLATEAUX SLOPE
DOWN TOWARDS THE NORTH.

མེ་ཁེ་དོ་ཁོན་

111. Me-khe-tó-lón (nomad town).

ཨ་ལེ་སུའི་ཆ་དག་

112. A-le-sú-i-hú-tag (sandbanks and loam piles).

ཡེ་ཁེ་ཐུའླ་ཁེ

113. Ye khe thúñ-keh (small nomad village).

ཆུ་ལན་

114. Hú-lan or Khu-lan (nomad village).

ཆོ་ཡོ་རྩ་དག་

115. Ho-yor Hú-tag (there are two wells here).

ཨོ་ལོན་ཆུ་དག་

116. Au lon Hú tag (contains many wells).

ཐུ་མུར་ཁ་ལ་ཀ་

117. Thú-Myúr Hala-ka (small nomad village).

ཕིན་ཅིང་ཆུ་

118. Pin-chhiñ-phú (a small Chinese fort).

ཤིང་ཤ་མཐར་

119. Nññ-śa (khar or fort) a large fortress under a

Mogul Prince son-in-law of the Emperor,
contains 50,000 men.

མ་ཆུ་ཕམ་ལ་

120. Ma-çhhú (river Hoangho).

ཁིན་ཅིན་ཁོ་འུ་

121. Khiñ-chhiñ-ko-wú (small nomad village).

ཐ་ཕྱན་ཨོ་པོ་

122. Tha-pún-au-po (contains 5 "obos").

ལུང་ཆུ་ལྷོ་

123. Ooñ-khúl-tshig (nomad village).

ཐོ་ཐུ་ལ་

124. Tho-thú-le (pasture land).

ཐོ་སོ་ཐུ་ཨམ་

125. Tho-so-thú-'Am (small nomad village).

སུ་ཇི་

126. Sú-ji (pasture land).

ཨོ་ལོན་ཐོ་ལོ་ཀ་

127. On-lontho-lo-ká (a hilly place).

པོ་རོ་ཐོ་ལོ་ཀ་

128. Parotho-lo-ká (contains many hillocks).

མི་ལན་

129. Mi-lan (a pasture land).

མ་ར་ཁོ་ཕི་

130. Ha-rakopi (a small desert-like plain).

- ལུ་ཁྱེ་ལྷ་སྐྱེ་མི་ 131. Ool-chithú-sú-mí (a monastery).
 ཀ་མན་ལོ་ལོ་མོ་ 132. Chha-ganili-keh (a pasture hill).
 ཀ་མན་རྒྱ་ལོ་ལྷ་ 133. Chha-ganchhú-lo-thu (a plain filled with
 white stones).
 མོ་དྲོ་བྱ་ལམ་ 134. Mo-tonpú-lag (a fountain with trees).
 བོ་རུ་སྐྱེ་མ་ 135. Por-sú-Ha (a desert-like plain).
 ཀ་མན་སོ་པར་མ་ 136. Chha-ganso-por-ka (a chorten built of white
 stone).
 མར་ག་རྒྱུ་ 137. Múr-ga-tshúg (a mountain of low altitude).
 ཅེ་ར་མེ་ལོ་ལོ་ 138. Cher-keh-i-gol (river).
 པ་ག་ན་རི་ལོ་ར་ 139. Pa-ga-na-rin Er-ge (a large landslip).
 མོ་ཐོ་ལོ་ལོ་ 140. Ho-thoñ-gol (a large river).
 མ་དང་མོ་ལྷ་ 141. Ha-tañ-Ho-shu (a rocky hill).
 རེ་མོ་སྐྱེ་ལྷ་སྐྱེ་མི་ 142. Je-kehsú-thú-sú-me (monastery).
 བཟུག་རྒྱུ་ལྷ་ 143. Tan-gye-liñ (monastery, 100 monks).
 ལྷ་བཟུག་དཔེ་ལྷ་སྐྱེ་མི་ 144. Thúb-tan g'é-phel-liñ (monastery, 200 monks).
 བཟ་མི་མི་ལྷ་སྐྱེ་མི་ 145. Taśi Mi-gyúr-liñ (monastery, 150 monks).
 རྒྱ་ཐོ་ལོ་ལོ་ 146. Mú-tai-to-kon (a tent monastery).
 པ་རི་ཆི་ 147. Pa-ri-chhi (a nomad town).
 ཐུ་ར་ 148. Tá-ra (a nomad town).
 རོ་རྩ་ 149. Dor-je (a nomad town).
 ལྷ་དཔེ་ལོ་ལོ་ 150. Wañ-pai-sán (a high mountain).
 པ་ག་པི་ཆེ་ལོ་ཆི་ 151. Pa-ga-pi-chhai-chhi (pasture-land).
 པ་ལོ་ལོ་ 152. Pelo-ha (pasture-land).
 ཐོ་ག་མོ་ 153. Tho-ga-mod (a nomad town).
 དཔེ་ཆ་ཆེ་ལྷ་སྐྱེ་མི་ 154. Ge-gan-ni-pee-siñ (a large monasternastery).
 རྒྱ་ཐོ་ལོ་ལྷ་ 155. Khu-khe-ho-thú (a large fortress,
 diers and a population of 60
 Mogul and Chinese
 156. Khar-Non-po.

- ཆ་གན་ 157. Chha-gan (a white stone chorten and small monastery).
- སོ་བེར་ག་ 158. So-ber-ga (ditto ditto).
- མི་རྩི་ 159. Mai-tri (a small monastery).
- ཆ་གན་ཁུ་ཁུ་རེ་ 160. Chha-gankhú-khú-re (inhabited village with a few nomads).
- ཚེ་མ་པོ་ལག་ 161. Tsa-hapo-lag (contains a fountain).
- ཡུམ་པ་ཐུ་ 162. Púm-pa-thu (pasture-land).
- ཨོ་སུ་ཐུ་ 163. O-sú-thú (pasture-land).
- དཀྱི་ཀྱི་དཔེན་པ་ 164. Tai-kai (gon-pa monastery) (monastery, 200 monks).
- ཏེ་ལ་དེར་ཐུ་ལག་ 165. Tel-der-pú-lag (contains a well).
- པ་ཡོན་ཐུ་ལག་ 166. Pa-yon-bú-lag (contains a well).
- ཐལ་ཐུ་ལག་ 167. Thal-bú-lag (contains a well in the middle of the plain).
- རྒྱུ་ན་རིན་ཨོ་སུ་ན་ 168. Jún-na-rin O-sun (contains a streamlet).
- ཆ་གན་ཨོ་སུ་ལ་ 169. Chha-ganer-ge (a landslip). (ལ་ is sometimes pronounced as *ge* and at others as *keh*).
- ཏ་ལན་ཐུ་རུ་ 170. Ta-lanthú-rú (filled with a kind of shrub from which Chinese paper is made).
- ཀུན་འཛི་གོམ་ 171. Kún-joi-gom (nomad village).
- ཀ་ཡ་ཐུ་ཡེ་སུ་མེ་ 172. Ha-ya-tu-wai-súma (a large monastery containing 500 monks).
- ཨོ་མ་ལ་ན་ལན་ཐུ་ 173. Jib-ha-lan-thú (a range of hills).
- པ་མ་ཐུ་པེན་ཏེ་མ་ཐིན་ཨོ་པ་ 174. Er-teni-tog-shin-O-pa (contains "obo").
- ཏུ་ཏུ་དེ་རེ་རུ་ 175. Pága-hwa-chár (contains a mine of soda).
- ཏ་མི་ 176. Khú-khú-ðere-su (covered with long grass).
- ཐོན་འཇུག་ 177. Tagi (a nomad town).
178. Thoñ-jug (a nomad town).

ནར་ཐུ་སུ་མེ་

179. Nar-thú-sú-me (a small monastery).

སུན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་

180. Gún-Nvúra (a small lake).

སེལ་མེ་ཁུ་

181. Sil-ge-khu (a nomad village).

ཤན་ཏུ་འི་མོ་ལ་

182. Shan-túi-gol (a small river).

ཆ་ཤན་ཐུ་ལ་མ་

183. Chha-gan-lag (contains a well).

མཚོ་མུ་ཏུ་

184. Tsho-dún (contains a large Lamasary with
3,000 monks, a place of commerce with
20,000 people).

or

དོ་ལོན་ནུ་འོ་འ་

185. To-lon-nor (Dolonor).

ཨ་ལ་ཐན་ཏུ་ཤི་

186. A'lá-than-tú-shi (a nomad town).

པོ་འ་ཐུན་དེ་འ་

187. Po-ra-un-der (contains pasture hills).

ཅོག་དོ་

188. Chog-to (a valley with pastures).

ཡང་ཐུ་

189. Yañ-sú (a small stream).

ནོ་ལ་ཆེན་

190. Nól-chhin (a nomad village).

སའི་ཅན་ཏ་པ་

191. Sai-han-ta-pa (a high mountain which cannot be
crossed in one day,—a shelter for robbers).

སའི་ཅན་ཨོ་པ་

192. Sai-han-O-pa (contains an "obo").

ཆ་ཤན་ཏོ་ཏུ་

193. Chha-gan-ho-ró (boulder-plains and undu-
lated valleys).

སུན་ཏ་པ་

194. Sán-ta-pa (a low hill).

ཐའི་ཆི་

195. Thai-ji (low hill). [mountains].

མེ་ཆི་ལོན་ཨ་མ་

196. Ker-chhi-lan-ama (a saddle between two

ཐུ་ཐུན་ཏ་

197. Kur-gún-hara (a rocky valley).

ཐུ་ཐན་ཏ་པ་

198. Mú-ran ta-pa (a high mountain).

ཐེ་མེ་ཏ་ཏ་

199. Theme-ha-ta (contains a huge rock).

ལོ་འི་པ་སུ་མེ་

200. Lei-pa-súmí (contains a small monastery).

སྤྱན་ནང་

CHINA.

མོ་མོ་མེ་ཐེ་འ་

201. Ko-ko-gé-ther (Chinese town).

ཤིང་སུང་

202. Shiñ-kúñ (contains a Mogul and Chinese
population).

- ཡོ་ཁོ་ཤོ་བྱང་ 203. Ye-hor (pho-dañ or palace) (Jehor or Jehole).
 ཡུང་བྱ་ཐོན་ 204. Wañ-sú-then (a large town).
 རྒྱ་ཡིན་ཡིང་ 205. Kwan-yin-liñ (a Chinese town).
¹རྒྱ་རྩ་ཁོ་ཐོ་ 206. Hárá-hotho (contains a fort and town).
 རྩང་གི་ཡོང་ 207. Húñ-sí-liñ (a large town).
 ཡུང་བྱ་ཡིན་ཅི་ 208. Wañ-kya-yin-tse (a large city).
¹ཁྱུང་ཤ་ཡུ་ 209. Khyañ-sá-yu (a large town).
 རྩང་ཐོ་ཡོང་ 210. Hwañ-tho-liñ (a large town).
 སི་ཡིང་ 211. Sî-liñ (a large town).
 མེན་ཅན་ནང་ 212. Men-chan-hañ (a town).
 བང་གི་ཡིན་ 213. Pañ-sí-yin (a large town).
¹ནན་ཐས་མེན་ 214. Nan-thas-men (a large town).
¹ཡོ་ཐིང་ཅི་ 215. Yo-thiñ-tse (a large town).
 ཡོ་ཅི་ཆོ་ཁོ་ 216. Lo-chi-chho-ko (contains a stone-bridge).
¹ད་མེལ་ 217. Ta-mel (a small town).
 ཡུན་ཤན་ 218. Yún-sán (ditto).
 ཁོ་ཡ་ཤན་ 219. Kho-yú-sán (a large town).
 མང་གི་སོ་ 220. Nañ-sí-so (a small town).
¹ལང་ལྷ་སུ་ 221. Lañ-kwa-sú (a town).
¹ཆིང་ 222. Chhiñ (a small town).
 ཡུ་བ་ཕུ་ 223. Bá-ba-phu (ditto).
 ཡེ་ཤི་ཐིང་ཡོ་བྱང་ 224. Pekin (Imperial Palace and Capital).
 རི་ཤི་ཐུང་ནི་ལྷ་ཁང་ 225. Ree-chyar-Hwañ-si (contains Dalai Lamas
 སེ་ཡོ་ཞེས་པ་རྒྱ་
 ཡེ་ཤི་ཐིང་ཡོ་བྱང་པ་
 སེ་ཡོ་ཞེས་པ་རྒྱ་

¹ Contains Emperor's palace.

VI.—LIFE AND LEGEND OF TSOÑ KHAPA (LO-SSAÑ-TAGPA), THE GREAT BUDDHIST REFORMER OF TIBET.

Tsoñ-khapa was born in 1378, A. D.¹ in the town of Tsoñ kha (or Onion valley) in Amdo in Eastern Tibet. His father's name was Lubum-ge, and that of his mother Shiñ-ssaḥ-á-chho. The house in which he was born was overhung by a sandal-wood tree rich in foliage. It is said to have borne a hundred thousand leaves, on every one of which was visible the naturally grown picture of Tathágata S'éngé-ña-vo (Simha dhvani). There having spontaneously appeared on the bark of that wonderful tree the *mantras* sacred to Manjuśrī, the protector of the three classes of beings, viz., men, suras and asuras, the men of the place erected a *chaitya* at its foot. A large monastery containing 10,000 monks was established near it and called the monastery of Kubum Chamba-liñ. It is said that the marvellous leaves of the selfsame sandal tree are even at the present day observed by pilgrims to bear the Tathágata's image inscribed, as it were, by nature.

When three years old, Tsoñ-khapa received the first initiatory sacrament from the celebrated Karmapa Lama Rolpai-dorje, who gave him the name Kun-gaḥ-ñiñpo. At the age of seven the young novice is said to have been miraculously visited by Vajrapáni and the Indian saint Dipánkara Śrī-jñāna (called Atiśa in Tibet), from whose hands he received benediction. Having attained his eighth year, he received the second sacrament of novices from the sage Ton-dub Rinchhen who changed his name to Lo-ssañ-tagpa or Sumatikīrti in Sanskrit. From the same Lama he received instruction in the Sūtras and Tantras. His study-room is said to have been filled with sacred volumes, the lustre of which served him for light. At the age of sixteen he visited Tibet proper, where in the principal monasteries of U and Tsañ, such as Dewa-chan &c, he studied the sacred literature of the Buddhists under such eminent scholars as Lama Wumapa, Je-tsun Reñ-daḥ-va, the hermit of Lho-brag named Lakyi-dorje, Taśi-señgé &c. At the age of twenty he took the monastic vows from Tshul-thim Rinchhen, when he manifested a very powerful memory. He was able to recite at a time about 553 *slokas* of the Dulva without a mistake. He was afterwards initiated into the vows of Bodhisattva and others of the strictest kind appertaining to the Tantras. He now acquired the right to confer benediction on others. He also propitiated the divine mother Tárá called Dolma in Tibet, Dugkar-samāja Guhya, Sambara, Bhairava and others of his tutelary dieties. The great Indian teacher, Nágārjuna, Śrī Saraha and the all-knowing Buton, besides many other Indian and

¹ On the 10th lunar month of the year, bearing the name 'fire-bird,' of the 6th cycle in Tibetan chronology.

Tibetan Buddhists miraculously visited him at the time of his studying their metaphysical works. Of all these divine visitors Manjuśrī, the god of learning and wisdom, was his greatest friend. In fact he acquired great proficiency in all classes of science then known in India or Tibet. In the whole of Kañchan or the Himavat country, he was unrivalled amongst the learned. Gonpo-chhag-dug or the six-armed Bodhisattva (Vajrapāṇī), Pehar Gyalpo, Vaiśramaṇa, the lord of death called Tam-chhen S'injesé and other guardians of the world became his friends and helped him uninterruptedly in the work of Dharma and the preservation of moral discipline and purity among the clergy.

Even from his boyhood Tsoṅ khapa used daily to commit sixteen pages of his text-books to memory. In Tibet he studied up to the thirty-sixth year of his age, when he mastered the Tibetan translation of the Sanskrit Buddhist scriptures and the *śāstras*, the greater and smaller vehicles of law, the ancient and modern versions of Buddha's precepts, and the philosophies of the various heretical and Buddhist schools. By these accomplishments he became matchless in learning in Tibet. After finishing his studies he devoted himself to writing various commentaries and works, such as aphorisms, Lam-rim, Ņag-rim, Tantras, Vinaya, Páramitās and logic. At the time of his commenting on the Tantrik work called Sambara-múla tantra, the god Sambara is said to have miraculously appeared before him and remarked—"Tsoṅ khapa! even in India such excellent commentaries and synopses as yours were never made." At the time of his commenting on the "Káalachakra," its reputed author, the celebrated Chandra Kírti, Emperor of S'ambhala, is said to have inspired him. The Yeshé-khadoma (the fairies of learning) are said to have miraculously transported him to S'ambhala before the presence of that deified emperor.

At the age of thirty-seven he bethought himself of paying a visit to India and invoked Manjuśrī to advise him on the matter. Manjuśrī personally appeared before him and said, "If by remaining in Tibet, through the medium of yoga, you invoke the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, great good will accrue to living beings. If, for that particular purpose which can as well be attained by residence in Tibet, you visit India, your life will be shortened, consequently you will ultimately do less good to the world. I therefore exhort you to follow Nágárijuna and Chandra Kírti in doctrinal theories, and Atiśa in meditative science, and Upáli in ritual and religious observances. O saintly Tsoṅkhapa! let your school be diffused over the whole of Jambudvīpa and let mankind abide by its teaching!" On hearing this, Tsongkhapa gave up the idea of visiting India. After thirteen years of meditation (yoga in solitude) he obtained *samádhi*, after which he saw several of his tutelary deities. Even the fairies of learning came in visible form to pay their respects.

He acquired great proficiency in argumentative philosophy and vyākaraṇa. Once, in the course of twenty days, he finished reading 100 volumes of Sūtras and Tantras, and in thirty days he unravelled the intricacies of those books. His acquirements in the Alankāra Vidyā (rhetoric) and in Upadeśa were considerable, for he was found capable of explaining three volumes of such works daily. He was possessed of rare gifts of elocution. In fact, being an inspired orator, in the midst of a crowded assembly consisting of several thousand men, he could make himself heard to the satisfaction of all. His delivery is said to have been uniform and engaging, being without variation in the pitch of his voice. Being free from any kind of disease either of mind or body, he preached with untiring zeal in the daytime and during the night time. He used to sit in *yoga* in communion with Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. "Such rare talents and assiduity" remarks a Tibetan author² "have never been noticed in any of the Tibetan Lamas of ancient or modern times." The works composed by Tsoṅkhapa are replete with sense and profound reasoning. Excellence of style, perspicuity and conciseness are their never-failing attributes. Few authors can boast of such excellencies as embellish his extraordinary writings. They are scrupulously free from errors and blunders of any kind. Arrangement and judicious order are no unimportant characteristics of his writings. His works are faultless in the qualities called *anga*, *pratyanga* and *mūla*, in consequence of which they are easy and intelligible to the general reader. In Grammar and Dialectics his reputation stands unrivalled in High Asia. He held long discussions with the learned philosophers of Tibet and Amdo. The well known Dharma Rinchen and Gé-leg-pal-ssang were forced to acknowledge his superiority. He discussed the merits of the *prāsanga mādhyamika* school with the celebrated Tag-tshang-Lochhava and Sherab Rin-chen whom he vanquished by his powerful logic and obliged to compose 80 slokas or verses in his praise. From that date his fame spread all over the country. The pride of rival *savants* was humbled when they came in contact with him, and they prostrated themselves before him in reverence and awe. These were the causes which led to the wide diffusion of his reforms. Prior to his advent, Buddhism, though widely spread in Tibet, had greatly degenerated through having assimilated much of the Bon heresy, and especially on account of the clergy having shewn some disregard for moral discipline and the teaching of Buddha. Every one behaved as he pleased under the shelter of its corrupt doctrines, and practised diabolical acts in the name of the Tantras. There were few among the Tibetan clergy who abstained from women and wine. It was Tsoṅkhapa who preached strict

² sGyal dVaṅ mKhanpo, the late abbot of the Sera monastery who wrote a voluminous life of Tsoṅ-khapa.

observance of the laws of the *Dulva* (vinaya or moral discipline), and by thus conforming to the precepts of Buddha, he revived the purest kind of Buddhism. Tsoñkhapa introduced reforms in every direction. In his reformed school was to be found the essence of the *Sútras*, *Tantras* and *Dháraṇis* of the *Maháyána* and *Hináyána* schools. One who is well versed practically in the *Vinaya* teaching of the *Hináyána* school, and who acquires the *Maháyána* or *Bodhisattva dháraṇí*, can become a good *Gelugpa*.

After S'ákya Simba, no teacher of Buddhism was so eminent as Tsoñkhapa. Even in the *Árya-deśa*, no such refined school as that of *Gelugpa* was known to exist. In Tibet, Tsoñkhapa is called the second Buddha, a title which Nágárjuna, the founder of the *Mádhyaṃika* philosophy, enjoyed in ancient India.

At the age of fifty-three, in the year 1429 A. D., he founded the great prayer assembly consisting of 70,000 monks well known by the name of the *Monlam Chhenpo* of *Lhasa*. It was held annually, and the practice continues up to the present day. Tsoñkhapa on that occasion adorned the head of the image of Jovo (lord) S'ákya Muni with a diadem of lapis-lazuli, pearls, rubies and other precious stones, at a cost of 500 gold *srañ* (or 30,000 Rs), and prayed that the sacred religion might continue for ever without being corrupted or degraded. Immense offerings were made. A hundred thousand edibles were placed in heaps to the height of a man's stature. A hundred thousand lamps, fed with butter in huge caldrons, with wicks as big as the largest handkerchiefs rolled up, were lighted, so that the whole city of *Lhasa* was illuminated. The glare was so great that the residents of *Lhasa* could hardly distinguish the stars in the sky. Frankincense, joss-sticks, myrrh, and flowers were offered in great profusion. There were present on the occasion, under human guise, all the gods and demi-gods, Nágas and yakshas that were friendly to Buddhism, together with the four classes of genii called *Gyalpo* with the great *Pehar* at their head. All these, disguised in human shape, took part in the proceedings. Tsoñkhapa observed similar ceremonies in subsequent years. In the same year, the great reformer founded the famous monastery of *Gahdan*. In the course of the next ten years, he turned the wheel of *Dharma* with unprecedented zeal.

In the sixty-third year of his age, knowing that his end was drawing nigh, he entrusted his principal disciples *Gyal-chhab-je*, *Kha-dub Chho-je*, *Je-śerab-señgé*, *Jam-vyañ Chho-je*, and *Chyam-chhen-chho-je*, with the charge of protecting Buddhism. He also charged the lord of death, called *Tam-chhen-śinje-chhoikyí-Gyalpo*, with the defence of the sacred creed, thus exhorting him:—"O thou, the lord of *Dharma*, in this country of *Kañ-chan* (*Himavat*), may thy religion so long as animal life

remains unextinct, be defended by thee! Thou, together with thy retinue, shalt drive away all enemies, whether internal or external, and the warlike foes of the border lands; thou shalt extinguish all kinds of heretics, who may try to injure the religion." The statue of this dreadful lord of death, who is the sworn guardian of Gaḥdan inspires terror in the minds of sinners who, even to the present day, tremble at his name. It was, according to the popular belief, by the might of this dreaded deity that the progress of the Gurkha armies beyond the boundary of Tsañ was arrested. On the 25th day of the 10th lunar month of the same year, Tsoñkhapa's person having been contracted to the size of a boy of eight, and placed in a mansion encompassed by the radiance of the rainbow, prepared to start for the land of bliss. On that occasion innumerable Suras, Asuras, fairies, gods and goddesses played instruments of music in his honour, showered flowers, and with flags and umbrellas joined in a pious dance for full seven days. On the morning of the seventh day, when by the act of his will he was lost in *yoga*, his soul, leaving its mortal frame, was absorbed in the Sambhogakāya of Buddhahood. Thence forward Tsoñkhapa, under the name of Jampal Niñpo, sits by the side of Maitreya the Regent of Tushita (Gaḥdan). His remains, wrapped in cloths inscribed with texts from the Dhāraṇis,³ were preserved in a Chaitya of gold. His tomb is a lofty edifice, with a gilt roof, and a golden Chaitya inside.

The Tibetans have the following account of Buddha's prediction respecting Tsoñkhapa:—In ancient times, when Bhagaván S'ákya lived, a Bráhmaṇ boy prayed to him after presenting him with a crystal rosary. Bhagaván, in return, drew from his right side a white conch shell and gave it to him, saying, "Oh Bráhmaṇ boy, in time to come thou shalt work for my religion; when it shall spread in the Himavat country, thou shalt be the president of the Dharma." The same conch shell was then concealed in the hill called Brogri, in Tibet. It is now to be found in the Dapuñ monastery and is said to be possessed of miraculous powers.

³ The mystical writings, called Dhāraṇis, were brought from India during the Sakya hierarchy in the 10th and 11th century A. D. The inscriptions were prepared in Tibet.

བཟང་མོ་ཕ་བ་སྐྱ་མ་འཕགས་པ་ལ་ཞུས་ཤིང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིད་ཆེས་པའི་ཆོད་དུ་བསྐྱོད་དང་
 རྒྱ་འབྲུག་འབྲུག་པར་གསལ་བ་བཟབ་པ་བཞིན་ཞུས་ཤིང་ཞུས་པའོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་སོའི་ཕྱི་མདུན་
 སུང་བསྐྱོས་ཀྱི་མཆོད་པ་འཕྲུག་པའི་ཕྱི་མདུན་ལ་འཕྲུག་པའོ། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡིད་ཆོད་དུ་འབྲུག་པ་སོགས་
 བཟུག་པ་ལ། འཕགས་པས་རང་གི་ཡན་ལག་ལྟ་བུ་བཟང་ཆས་སོ་སོར་སྒྲུབ་པ་རྒྱལ་པོ་
 རིགས་ཀྱི་ཐུང་པ། སྒྲུབ་པ་འཕགས་པའི་སྒྲུབ་པ་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་འབྲུག་པ་ཞུས་པའོ།
 ཡི་མེ་འབྲུག་ཞིག་ཏུ་མཐོང་། རྒྱལ་པོ་ཡི་ཕྱི་མདུན་མཆོད་ཆས། བོད་ཡུལ་
 སོགས་མང་བདེ་རྒྱུ་ལྟོད་ཅིང་། བོད་ལ་སྐྱོན་ལམ་བཟང་པོ་ཤོད་ཅེས་ཞུས་ཏེ་
 འཕྲུག་པ་བཟང་པོ་བསྐྱབས། ཞེས་པ་ཅིམ་ལས་མི་འབྱུང་ངོ་། ལང་སྤྱི་མཆོད་ཆས་
 དུ་སྐྱུ་ལི་མིའི་མཆོད་ཆོད་ཀྱི་ཕ་བ་ཞིག་ཡོད་པ་འདྲི་ཆམ་པ་མཆོད་ཆོད་ཡིན་པ་ལ།
 སྐད་རྒྱུད་ཀྱི་ཆས་ཀྱི་ཆོད་ཆོད་ཀྱི་ཕྱི་མདུན་སོ་སོའི་ཆས་དམ་པ་འབྲུག་ཞིག་གིས་
 བཟུངས་པ་ལྟར་ན། ཆོད་པ་མཆོད་ཆས་ཀྱི་ཕྱི་མདུན་ལས་འབྲུག་པ། མོར་མ་ཆས་
 ཐུང་། དཔ་སྐྱོན་སོགས་སུ་བོད་དུ་ཕྱིན་པའི་ལོ་རྒྱུས་འབྲུག་པོ། རྒྱལ་པོས་རྒྱུ་
 འཕགས་པ་ལ་དབང་མ་ཞུས་པར་ཤོག་མར་བསྐྱོན་མོ་ལ་ཕྱི་མདུན་ལྟར་བཟུངས་ཏེ་
 དམ་ཆོག་ཅི་འདྲ་དཔེས་པ་འབྲུག་ཅེས་ཅིས་པར། བསྐྱོན་མོ་དམ་ཆོག་ཀྱི་ཆས་སྐྱོས་པ་ལ།
 རྒྱལ་པོ་ན་ཏེ། དམ་ཆོག་གཞན་ཀྱི་ཆས་བཟུངས་ཏུ་ཕྱི་མདུན་ལ། སྐད་མའི་བཟང་ལས་མི་འབྲུག་
 བ་དེད་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཆོད་པོ་ཡིན་པས་མི་ཕྱི་མདུན་ལ་ལ། བསྐྱོན་མོས་འཕྲིན་ཅིན་ཕྱི་མདུན་
 རྒྱུས་ལ་རྒྱལ་པོ་དང་། ཆོས་ལྟོས་ལ་སྐྱ་མ་གཅི་བོ་ལྟ་བུ་ཆོད་ཆས་པས། རྒྱལ་
 པོའི་སོམས་ལ་འཕྲུག་པར་ཐུང་། དམ་ཆོག་ལྟ་བུ་པའི་འཕྲུག་ཀྱི་ཕྱི་མདུན་བཟུངས་
 པས་དཔེས་པ་འོ་ཆོད་དབང་ཀྱི། དབང་ལོན་དུ་གསེར་ཕྱི་མདུན་ཆོད་པོ་གཞིས་ཕྱི་གཅིག་
 ལ་ཆུ་དྲིལ་བྱ་གཞི་པ་ལྟ་བུ་ཡིན་ཅིམ་སྐྱུངས་པའི་ཆོད་ཆས་ལ་འོད་པ་དང་། གཅིག་ལ་
 གསེར་ཕྱི་ཡི་ཆོད་སོགས་བཟོད་པ་དང་། གཞན་ཡང་ཅི་ཅིལ་ཅི་མོད་གསེར་དུ་ལ་གསེར་
 དར་བསམ་ཤིས་མི་ཁྱེད་པའི་འབྲུག་པ་ལྟ་བུ་ཡིན་ཏེ། རྒྱུ་ཆས་སྐད་དུ་མིང་མིང་ཏུ་ལོ་ལྟོ་
 རམས་གསུམ་ཆོས་ཕྱི་རྒྱལ་པོ་ཞེས་པའི་མཆོད་ཆས་ལ། མོད་ཁྱེད་ལི་མིམ་ཕྱི་ས་ཆ་ཡུལ་
 མི་དང་བཟུངས་པ་དང་། ཕྱིས་སུ་རིམ་པས་བོད་ཆོས་ཁ་གསུམ་ཡོད་པ་སུ་ཆོད་ཆས་པ་
 འབྲུག་སུ་ལུ། རྒྱལ་པོས་བོད་ཕྱི་བཟུངས་ཅད་ཆོས་ལྟ་བུ་ས་སྐྱ་པ་ལྟོད་དཔེས་
 པའི་ལུང་བསྐྱབས་ཐེར་བ་ལ་འཕགས་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེས། རང་རང་གི་སྐྱོན་ཆས་དར་པའི་ཆོས་
 ལྟ་བུ་སུ་གནས་ན་ལེན་ཆོད་ཆས་ལྟ་བུ་མཆོད་ཆས་སུ་བཞག་གོ། འཕགས་པ་
 རིན་པོ་ཆེ་ཤིང་ཐུང་ལོ་བོད་དུ་ཕྱིན། རབ་ལྷུང་མུ་པའི་ས་སྐྱལ་ལོ་སྐྱུ་ཡང་མོར་ཡུལ་དུ་

པར་ཐུར་ཀའང་། བདེ་མྱོད་ཐུག་པའི་དུས་སོག་ཡིན་མི་ལགའ་འཐུར་ཞུས་དམ་མཛད་ཀྱིས་
 དཔར་ད་བསྐྱབས། འཛོལ་མིང་གོང་མ་ཆེན་ལུང་ཐུག་པའི་ལགའ་བཟུང་འཐུར་ཡོངས་སུ་
 རྟོགས་པ་སོག་སྐད་དུ་བཟུར་ཀྱང་པར་དུ་བསྐྱབས། འདི་དུས་ལུང་ཐུ་འམས་ཅད་མཛེན་པ་
 རྟོག་པའི་རོ་རྩེས་སོག་སྐད་དུ་ཆོས་བཟུར་བ་ལ་མེད་མི་རྩང་གི་དམ་ཡིན་མཁས་པའི་འཐུང་
 བཀས་ལྷན་སྡེ་མཛད་པ་ཐིམ་ཐི་ཐུར་ཐེང་ཆོས་ལ་གསུང་འཕ་ཐི་བཟང་དོན་བཟུ་བའི་
 མིན་དུ་ཐུར་དོ། ཅུག་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་དུ་ཨ་སུ་འདི་ཐུག་པོ་བསོད་ཆོས་ཐུ་མཛོལ་སོག་ཡུལ་དུ་
 ཐོན་དུས་མཐུ། ཨོར་དེ་ནི་རོ་པའི་མཛུགས་འག་ཁང་བཞེངས། དེའི་ཆེ་བོ་རོ་རྩེ་མི་ཡི་
 ཐུ་ཆན་ཐི་ལས་སུ་དུ་ར་ཀ་འདི་ཐུ་བ་རྩེ་བཟོན་དམ་པ་སྟོ་བཟང་བཟུན་པའི་ཐུག་མཛོན་
 འཐུངས། ཅུག་ཆ་ཆོ་བདུན་ཡོངས་ཐི་མཛུགས་ཐུ་དུ་ཐུར། འཆམ་དཔེངས་གོང་མ་ཆེན་
 པོས་ཐུང་བསུར་ཐི་མཛུགས་བཟོད་ཐིན་དུ་ཆེ་བ་མཛད། རི་བོ་དག་ཐིམ་མིང་གི་དཔོན་
 པ་བདམ། དེ་ཀས་སྐུལ་པའི་སྐུ་ཡིས་པར་ཐོན། ཡང་པར་ཆེན་སྟོ་བཟང་ཆོས་ཐུན་དང་།
 ཐུག་དབང་ལུ་པའི་སྟོ་བ་མཛོལ་པ་པུ་ཐི་སྟོ་བཟང་འཕྱིན་ལས་དང་། ཨོར་དེ་ནི་པུ་ཐི་ད་
 སྟོ་བཟང་བཟུན་འཛོན་གཉིས་ཐིམ་ཐུང་དཔོན་པ་བཟོན་ཀྱིས་བཟུན་པའི་ཐུ་བ་ཐུ་ཆེར་
 མཛད། དེ་ཀས་བཟུང་ཅུག་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་དུ་ཐུས་སྟོ་དམ་པ་དང་དག་འདུན་ཐི་ཐོས་ཡོངས་སུ་
 བང་ཐུ་བཟང་སྐུལ་ཐི་བཟུན་པ་ཐིམ་པར་ཐུར། ཐོར་གོངས་ཐི་ཡུལ་དུ་ཐུང་སོམས་སྐུར་
 ལམ་པར་ཐུགས་པ་སྟོ་མང་དཔོན་སྟོ་བ་དོན་ལུ་ཐུ་མཛོལ་ཐུན་ཀྱིས་བཟུན་པའི་སྟོ་བཟོན་པ་
 ཀའང་། ཨོ་རྩེ་སྟུང་མངའ་འོག་དུ་སོང་བས་ཅ་ཅང་འཕུལ་ཐིམ་མ་ཐུང་བས། དུས་ཐིམ་
 ཨོ་རྩེ་སྟུང་འོག་ཀྱིས་ཐོན་དེ་འཆམ་དཔེངས་གོང་མའི་མངའ་ཁབས་སུ་རྩད། དཔོན་ཁག་
 ཆོས་སོ་སོར་ཐུགས་ཀྱི་དཔེ་དུ་བཟོས་ཀྱིས་འཛོད་མིང་བཟུན་པ་རིན་པོ་ཆེ་གསུ་མཛོད་ཐུར་
 འུན་པར་ཐུང་དོ། ཨོ་རྩེ་དམ་ཨུས་ལོད་ལ་ཆོ་བ་བཞི་ཡོད་པ་ལས། ཐུག་མིང་ཆེ་གོད་
 ཐིམ་འཛོན་བཞིན་པ་ཡིན་ཐུང་། ཆོ་རྩེ་སྟུང་ཡིས་ལས་སོན་པ་པོ་ཐོག་ཐུ་ཆན་ཐོབས་འཐུར་
 ཐིམ་པས། ཆོ་མོད་ཆ་ཆེན་ཆན་ཐི་ཐུག་མིང་འཕྱོགས་ཀྱིས་ཨོ་རྩེ་ཐི་ཐུག་ཁམས་ཡོངས་
 ལུང་བང་བཟུར། མདོ་ལྷན་ཐི་ཐུ་ཆོང་མང་དུ་བཟོན་པས། དེའི་རྩེ་སུ་ཨོར་དེ་ནི་རོ་ཐི་ཐུ་
 ཐུང་ཤས་མིའི་དབང་འཕ་བཟོན་ཐི་ཐུ་ཐུང་ཐུང་པར་དུ་དག་སྟུང་འིང་ལྷན་པ་ལ་ཡོད་
 ཆོས་ཐི་དང་བཤེས་ཐུ། བས་ཤིས་སྟུང་པོ་ཀས་སྟུང་ཆེན་དག་འདུན་དག་ལོགས་འཕ་ཐིམ་
 དང་དཔལ་འཐུར་ཐུ་མཛོལ་གཉིས་ཡིས་པར་སྟུན་ཅངས། དེ་རྩེ་འཕྱོགས་སྐྱུངས་ཀྱིས་སྐུ་ལུག་
 པ་བཟུན་པ་འཕ་ཐིམ་སོགས་མཁས་པ་མང་པོ་སྟུན་ཅངས་དེ་ཐིམ་པ་ཆོས་པ་སྟུན་མཁས་ལ་
 བཞེད། དག་ཆུལ་སྟོད་ཆོས་ལ་ལ་བསྐྱབ་ཐུ་གཙམ་མོ་མིང་མ་གཉིས་འཛོན་ཐུ་བཟུགས་

དུ་ཐོན། རྩལ་པ་པས་དེ་མཁས་ཀྱི་མཆོག་ལ་ཞོ་དོ་ཀྱི་མི་ཞིག་ས་མདོ་མེ་མཁའ་འོད་དམ་པ་ལ་
 རྩལ་མ་ལྟུང་པའི་ཆེ། མིང་ཅིས་པར། ཞལ་ཤུག་ཀུ་ལེ་ཁྱེད་ལྟུང་པས། དེ་མཁས་མི་
 ལོ་ཞིག་ན་ཁྱེད་ཀྱི་ཡུལ་དུ་ཆོས་འདི་དར་བར་འགྱུར་རྒྱུ་ལྟུང་པ་ལྟར་ལྟུང་པ་ལས་
 མཛད་དེ། མཁའ་འོད་དམ་པ་སོགས་ཆོས་མང་དུ་བསྐྱར་ཅིང་བསྐྱར་པའི་ཕྱི་ལོ་བཞུང་།
 ཆ་ཆར་རྩལ་པས་སོག་པོ་ཆེ་ཆེ་དུས་མི་ཀང་དུ་དུས་འབྲུག་བསྐྱེད་པར་བཅོན། ཉལ་ཉའི་
 ཁྱོད་དུ་འགྲུབ་ཞིག་བྱས་པར། དཔེན་པོ་མཚན་ཆེན་ཀང་མ་འཁམ་པའི་ཕྱིན་ལྟས་ཉལ་ཆ་ཆོས་ལྟ་
 རང་ཡུལ་ནས་སྐྱབས་པ་མཆོག་ཁར་འོངས་ནས། ཞལ་མདོའི་ས་ཆ་མཁས་མང་འོག་ཏུ་
 བརྒྱལ་ཐེ་རེ་ཞིག་དབང་ཤང་ཆེ་བར་བྱུང་བས་བསྐྱར་པ་བྱི་དང་། ཁྱེད་པར་རི་བོ་དཔེ་ལྟར་
 པའི་བསྐྱར་པ་ལ་མཆོད་པ་ཅི་འཕྲོག་ལས་པའི་རྩལ་པོ་འདི་ལྟར་དུ་སོན་དེ། མེ་
 རིན་པོ་ཆེ་འི་བསྐྱར་པ་འབྲུབ་ཞིག་མཆོས་པར་དཔེད་མཁས་ནས་དམག་གི་དཔྲུང་ཆེན་པོ་དང་
 བཅས་རང་ཡུལ་ནས་ཐོན་པ་མེ་སྐྱེད་ལྟ་བུ་དང་པོར་མཆོག་ཁར་འབྱོར་དེ། མཁྱལ་བ་ཐེ་བས་
 ཆོས་ལྟུང་དམག་ཁྱི་ཁག་བཞི་དང་བཅས་པ་ལྟར་མ་མདོ་པར་བཅོམ་ཐེ། མདོ་སྐད་ཀྱི་ཐོ་
 མས་མཐའ་དག་མང་འོག་དུ་བསྐྱེད། དེ་ནས་རྩལ་པ་ལ་པས་སྐྱེད་ལ་མཁྱལ་པའི་ཆེད་
 དུ་དཔྲུག་སྤྱུ་ཐོན། རྩལ་དབང་ལྟ་བུ་ཆེན་པོ་དང་། པར་ཆེན་སྐོ་བཟང་ཆོས་ཀྱི་རྩལ་མཆོན་
 མཆོས་ཀྱི་ཞལ་མཁྱལ་དེ་གཤེན་གི་ཐོན་དུ་བསྐྱར། དམངས་ལྟར་དུ་བཞུག་པར་ཐོན་པའི་ཆེ།
 དེ་དཔོན་ལ་ཁྱེད་པ་དུ་མིན་ཀྱང་ཕྱོད་ཀྱི་དུས་རྒྱུ་མོ་ཙམ་ཡང་མཐོང་བའི་ཐོན་པ་མིན་དུ་
 དམར་བ་བྱུང་བས་བསྐྱར་ཕྱིད་མཐའ་དག་དམར་དུ་འགྱུར་བའི་ཆེན་འབྲེལ་འཕྲིན།
 དེ་ནས་སྐྱེད་ལའི་ལྟར་ཕྱིར་མཆོག་ཁར་ཐོན། བར་ཁམས་སུ་བེ་རི་རྩལ་པོ་དོན་ཡོད་སངས་
 རྩལ་བསྐྱར་པ་ལ་མིན་དུ་གནས་ཅིང་། བོན་ཀྱི་རིང་ལྟས་ཁོན་གཙོ་བོར་མཆོད་པའི་རྩལ་
 མཆོན་གསལ་དེ། ས་ཡོས་ཆེར་ལྟ་བུ་པའི་ཀང་དུ་དཔྲུང་གི་རྩོགས་དང་བཅས་པ་འོ་ཐོང་
 དུ་ཐོན། མང་འབྲུང་པས་ལལ་ཆེར་སྐྱེད། བེ་རི་རྩལ་པོ་ཐོན་པ་གཞན་དུ་བྱོས་པ་སྐྱབས་
 འབྲུག་ལྟ་བུ་བསྐྱར་གཞིས་པའི་ཁྱེད་ལྟར་བཟང་ཐོ་ཁོན་དུ་བརྒྱལ། ས་དཔེ་ཀར་འབྲུག་
 ལྟར་ལྟར་པ་སོགས་ཀྱི་སྐད་པོན་པོན་དུ་ཆད་པ་མཁས་ཀྱང་བཞུན་དེ་རང་གསལ་སུ་བསྐྱེད།
 འཆང་རྩལ་པོ་རྩྭ་ཆེད་ཀྱི་ཕྱི་མཁས་ཀྱིས་ཀྱང་དཔྱ་ཞལ་འབྲུག་ཞིང་སྐྱེས་འདྲད་ལྟར་སྐྱེད།
 དེའི་ཆེད་དུས་གཅིང་གི་རྩལ་པོ་ཞི་མོ་ཕྱིད་གཅིང་པ་ཡིན་ཅིང་། དུས་སུ་པ་སྐྱེད་མཆོད་ཀྱི་
 མཆོད་པོར་བཟང་ཐོ། དཔེ་ལྟས་ལྟེན་པ་ལས་མཐུ་ལོག་པ་མང་དུ་བྱས་པར་བཅོན།
 རྩལ་པོ་འདི་དཔྲུང་གི་རྩོགས་ཆེན་པོ་དང་བཅས་པ་དཔྲུག་གཅིང་གི་རྩོགས་སུ་བཅུ། མཆོད་
 པའི་དཔྲུང་མཐའ་དག་བཅོམ་ཐོ་མཆོད་པ་རྩལ་སྐོན་བཟང་ནས་དཔྲུག་ཀྱི་སྤྱོད་གཞིས་ཁར་

TRANSLATION.

The three wheels of the Buddhist doctrine spread over various countries, large and small, such as Kashmir, Nepal, Persia, Champaka, Kis-kindá, Sermig, Gyugma, Ramma, Siam, Singala, Priyanku, Yamuna, Chandra dvípa, Makha, Kaśa, Gyi-Jaň, Shaň-Shúň, Brusha, Hasha, Sumpa, Sahor Miňug or Burmah, Jaň-yul, Yugur, Thogar, Orgyan, Dođípa, Lodpa, Chola, Kalinka, &c., &c. Various accounts are given of the rise and decline of the sacred creed in these countries in converting all living beings universally and partially, according as *Karma* permitted. In those countries many heretical doctrines also existed, which will not all be described here. It will be enough to describe the propagation of Buddhism in Sog-yul (Mongolia).

* * *

There is no account of the introduction of Buddhism in Hor by any Pandits or saints from India. The first light of Buddhism came from Tibet—and that from the Sakyapa school. Chhingis Khán who turned the wheel of might (became a mighty conqueror) visited Tibet. After subjugating Nari-kor-sum, U' and Tsaň, Lho, Kham and Gaň, he sent an envoy to Tsaň, offering large presents to the learned Kun-gaň-Ñínpo, the hierarch of Sakya, and appointed him his spiritual guide, and subsequently invited him to visit Hor. He obtained from Tibet some images, sacred volumes and Chaityas, from which the Mongols imbibed faith in Buddhism and commenced to adore Kon-ehhog or the Supreme Being. During this time some Mongols also took the vows of Upásaka &c., whence they got hold of Dharma. This took place in the *fire-hare* year of the 4th cycle or 2041 of the Buddhist era, if Buddha's Nirvána were calculated from the year of the same name; but if it be calculated from the *iron-dragon* year, the introduction of Buddhism in Hor must be placed in 2097 B. E. From the *fire-hare* year to the *iron-dragon* year of the 10th cycle 503 years elapsed. During the reigns of Goyug and Gútan, the two grandsons of Chhingis Khán, Buddhism was formally introduced into Hor. Gútan whose capital was in Laň-du, hearing the fame of Sakya Pañđita, sent an envoy to Tibet with rich presents to invite him to visit Hor.

Sakya Pañđita had been previously told by his tutor Sonam-tse-mo about a prediction, that he should be invited to propagate Dharma by a border race who wore hats like falcons and shoes like a hog's snout. The prophecy being now realized, Sakya Pañđita accepted the invitation. Accompanied by his nephew Phag-pa and Chhyagna he set out for Hor and met the king in the year *fire-sheep* of the 4th cycle (this date corresponds with A. D. 1248). The king was laid up with a disease called *sadag* (leprosy),

of which Sakya Paṇḍita cured him by the mystical invocation of the *Simhanāda dhāraṇī*. The king and his ministers heard from him the mystical worship of Gye-va-dorje.

He secured to himself their sincere faith by performing various miracles. Prior to this period the Mongolians possessed no written language. Sakya Paṇḍita became desirous of designing a new alphabet for them. Once he observed a certain woman rubbing (softening) a piece of hide with a piece of timber of the shape of the teeth of a saw. He shaped the Mongolian characters after the teeth of that implement. By arranging the letters, divided in masculine and feminine characters,* with hard or tight, loose or slack, and weak or soft powers he invented the system of writing of the Mongols. In the year *iron-hog* (corresponding with A. D. 1252) both Sakya Paṇḍita and the king died. The remains of the former were deposited in the Chhorten of Dulpai-dé outside the fortress of Lañ-ju. Subsequently in the reign of Muñkhe, Karma Bakshi and others from Tibet visited Hor. Muñkhe's younger brother named Khúblai became very powerful. He conquered China, Tibet, the whole of Hor, and about half of India up to the furthest boundary of Kashmir. He invited Phagpa-Lodoi-Gyaltshan,† the nephew of Sakya Paṇḍita, from Tibet. On his coming to Hor in the year *water-ox*, the Emperor met and held long discussions on religious matters with him, and imbibed much faith in him. Previous to this, he had showed much attachment to Karma Bakshi. Although Phagpa's acquirements in grammar and sacred literature were great, on the other hand the acquirements of the bearded Lama, as Karma Bakshi was called, in judicious learning were eminent. Once under the secret advice of the Emperor, the Empress, named Jema-ssañmo, who revered Phagpa above all, asked him to enter into competition with Karma Bakshi in the performance of miracles. This was done with a view to amuse the Emperor. The parties having agreed to the proposal, the Bakshi, in the presence of the Emperor and his ministers, mounted the sky where he sat cross-legged, as in *yoga*, and passed right through mountains, &c. Phagpa also performed miracles by decapitating himself, then severing the five limbs and turning them into five Dhyāni Buddhas. He afterwards accomplished their re-union to restore to himself his own body.

* * * * *

* Of the consonant characters, every individual was formed by the combination of a vowel and a consonant, such as—

Na	pa	gha	la	ta
Ne	pe	ghe	le	te
Ni	pi	ghi	li	ti

and so on.

† Arya Mati Dvaja.

Within the fortress of Lañju (or Lañdu) there is a tomb called the Chhorten of Karma Liśi which is identified with the tomb of Karma Bakshi, Karma Liśi being a mere corruption of the name Karma Bakshi. In the face of this account, the Debther Ñonpo and other works say that Karma returned to Tibet where he died.

Previous to the Emperor's taking spiritual vows, the Empress observed the mystic ceremonies of Kaidorje. He inquired what kind of vows were to be taken. When the Empress uttered the words of the vow, he remarked, "Although I might take some of the vows, yet being a sovereign, I cannot say that I will not violate the words of my spiritual guide." The Empress removed the objection by observing, that in worldly matters the Emperor's authority should be supreme, whereas in spiritual affairs the Lama's command should be paramount. The Emperor, satisfied with the suggestion, observed 24 ceremonies, called Thub pai Khor, together with the invocation of Gyeva-dorje. On the occasion of initiation, Khúblai presented the Lama with two large maṇḍalas (circular heaps of precious things) of which the one on the right-hand side was full of pearl balls without pinholes and as big as sheep's droppings, placed in bundles; the other on the left consisted of heaps of gold. Besides these, immense presents consisting of horses, mules, camels, silk robes, silver and gold, &c., were made to him. He decorated him with an exalted order which in Chinese is called "S'însîñ tákausri," meaning the spiritual king of the three worlds, and conferred on him the city and country of Lishim and subsequently the entire sovereignty of Tibet and Tsholkha (Khokonur). Although the Emperor ordered that all the *Bande* of Tibet should adopt the Sakyapa theories, yet the most estimable Phagpa, thinking it fair to let them pursue their anciently adopted doctrines, showed toleration. He returned to Tibet in the year *tree-ox* and in the year *earth-serpent* of the 5th cycle revisited Hor. In the year *iron-horse* he framed the square shaped form of the Mongolian characters, and introducing the system of worship, meditation, and propitiation among the Mongols, furthered the cause of Dharma and living beings. The Emperor having obtained the sacred relics of Buddha, images and sacred books and chaityas from India, erected temples and monasteries by which Buddhism was greatly promoted. The square shaped characters, called Khorig, having failed to answer the purpose of translating the sacred books, the Mongolians made use of the Yugur character in writing their language as a medium for the expression of the sacred hymns. During the reign of king Olje, the Sakyapa Lama named Chhoikyî-hodsser came to Mongolia and perfected the saw-teeth shaped characters invented by Sakya Paṇḍita by adding tails to the letters. The Mongolian characters were thus fit to be used in writing translations from foreign languages. Subsequently in the reign of Hai-san-khúlug portions of the Kah-gyur

and grammar were translated into the Mongolian language. In the reign of Poyanthu, Jam-yang the pupil of Rigral the Prefect of Narthañ, who during his visit to Narthañ had incurred the displeasure of his Lama by appearing before him in a mask, paid a visit to Hor. Subsequently Jam-yañ pleased his master by sending him large presents for a copy of the Kahgyur collection. Among the presents there was a small box full of Chinese ink which delighted Rigral very much. On his return to Narthañ, Jam-yañ resided in the house where the Kahgyur was copied and which was called Jam-yañ Lhakhañ.

In this manner, the way being opened, the copies of the Kahgyur gradually increased. After Jam-yañ, Karma Rañ-Ju-Dorje visited Hor and became the spiritual guide of one of the Hor kings, who, it appears, was named Chiya-thu. Thogan-themur (the last Emperor of the Mongol dynasty), the well-known descendant of Chhingis Khán, invited Karma-Rolpai-dorje who accordingly in the 19th year of his age in the year *earth-dog* came to Hor. During the fourteen reigns from Chhingis Khán to Erteni Chhogthu, many Sakyapa and Karmapa Lamas visited Hor, some of whom received the honour of the order of Ti-sri. The introduction of the Gelugpa church in the spiritual relation of Mongolia commenced at this time. During the reign of Thumer-kyi Althan Khán, the third Gyal-vañ (Dalai) named Sonam Gya-tsho visited Hor and abolished the worship of Oñ-gvad (the chief Demon) and the practice of offering animal sacrifices to demons. He introduced the Gelugpa (yellow-hat) school of Buddhism in Hor where he died, and his incarnation named Gyal-vañ Yonton Gya-tsho appeared in Mongolia, for which reason Buddhism became greatly diffused over that country, and all the Mongols were converted to the Gelugpa church. Afterwards Shere-thu-gusri translated the three *yum* (vulgarly called *bum*) into the native Mongolian language. In the days of Chhahar-leg-dan Khuthog-thu several translators headed by Kungañ Hodsser translated the whole of the Kahgyur into Mongolian. The last of the descendants of Chhingis Khán named Santhu-gusi (called Legdar in Tibetan), a petty prince, was so degenerate that he failed even to rule over his own country and his dynasty passed off from power. In the reign of Sunchi (De-Kyi) the translation of the Kahgyur in Mongolian was revised and partially printed. It was in the reign of the Emperor Chhinluñ (Kyen-long), the incarnate Manjuśrí, that the entire Kahgyur and Tangyur were for the first time printed in the Mongolian language. Then also the all-knowing Chañkya-Rolpai Dorje prepared the Khapai-Juñé, a compendious grammar of the Mongolian language, which was indispensably necessary to facilitate translations (lit., which served as an eye to the future translators.) Asuthu, king of Khákhá, had met the Gyal-vañ (Dalai Lama) Sonam Gya-tsho during his sojourn in Mongolia and erected the temple of Erteni Jovo.

At that time the incarnation of Tára Nátha (Je-tsun-dampa) named Lo-ssañ-tanpai Gya-tsho in the person of the son of his grandson Dorje Thushi-ye-thu Khán, was acknowledged as the supreme head of the seven Khálkhá Khanates. The Emperor of China greatly exalted his position by conferring on him high distinctions. The great monastery of Urga called Rivo-ge-gye-liñ was founded, and from that time the incarnations of Tára Nátha successively appeared. Jaya Pañdita Lo-ssán-thin-leg, who was the pupil of the fifth Gyal-vañ and Panchhen-Lo-ssañ Chho-gyan, and Erteni Pañdita Lo-ssañ tan-dsiñ founded many monasteries and promoted the spread of Buddhism in Hor. From this period the land of the Khálkhá became filled with priestly congregations, sages and saints of immaculate birth, and sacred study and saintly communion were greatly diffused. The Prefect of the Gomañ College of Dapuñ, named Ton-dub Gya-tsho, who was famed to have attained the 2nd stage of Bodhisattva perfection, introduced Buddhism into the Thorgwod country, the progress of which was, however, impeded by the surrender of the country to the Russians (Orrus). Subsequently, when the country was brought under the Emperor of China, the chiefs were re-instated in their respective states and the practice of the precious religion revived. Hashag-chhe-chhu Khán, the reigning chief of the four great tribes of Æ-loth, also called Orod, was defeated and dethroned by Boshog-thu Khán of the tribe of Tshoru who had grown powerful, in consequence of which the whole of the Æ-loth kingdom came under his possession. He established many schools for the instruction of monks in the Sútras and Tantras (aphorisms and mysticism). Thereafter Erteni Jorig-thu khuñ tho-che-Tshe-vañ-rabtan encouraged Buddhism in general and especially the Gelugpa church. He by turns invited the Mahámantri of Tañi-lhunpo named Geleg-rabgya, and Paljor-gya-tshog, and latterly by inviting Tampa-rabgya of Washul from the Dapuñ monastery and many others, introduced domestic priesthood and service (like that of the Upásakas) among the Mongols. He founded the monasteries of Nam-tse-diñ and the system of imparting instruction to neophyte monks, and established moral discipline and training. Although he failed to establish schools for the study of dialectics, yet by teaching the higher and lower (simpler) Lamrim of Tsoñkhapa, he introduced the secret way to Bodhisattva (perfection). Like the celebrated Ralpachan sovereign of Tibet, he allotted three families of tenants, 6 camels, 40 cows and horses and 200 sheep &c., for the maintenance of every monk or neophyte. After him his son Gañdan-tsheriñ Wañpo invited the celebrated professor and sage Paldan-Yesé, the learned principal of Thosam liñ of Tañi-lhunpo, the Vinayic ascetic Lo-ssañ Phun-tsho from Dapuñ, who held the office of the Prefect of the Gomañ College, and Ge-dun-leg-pa the Prefect of the Será monastery, of whom the last succeeded in opening classes for the study of metaphysics

and dialectics. He erected many monasteries and filled them with images, sacred volumes, and chaityas by which he filled the Chungar country. By conferring distinctions and endowments on the scholars of philosophy, he greatly diffused Buddhism.

Afterwards when the kingdom was overthrown by internecine wars, all the religious edifices were demolished, the effect of which even now survives in the desolate aspect of the country like the fields of autumn (after harvest). From one of the four famous tribes of Orod, the celebrated king, the upholder of religions, called Guśri Khán, son of the Khán of the Hoshad, was born in the year *water-horse*. His name was Thorol-bá-dur. According to the prophecy of Ti-me Lhun-dub the obtainer of *sacred treasure*, he is said to have been the miraculous emanation of Chhyagna Dorje (Vajrapáni), and according to the revelation of the Kahgyur, he was a religious king who obtained one of the Bodhisattva perfections. At the age of thirteen he assumed the command of the army of the Gokar (white heads), numbering 10,000, and went on an expedition against Hoi-Hoi (Tangyut). He gained a complete victory in the fight, for which he became eminently famous. During this time Buddhism was not spread in the Oeloth country. In other Mongolian countries the Gyal-vañ (Dalai-Lama) Sonam-gya-tsho, at the invitation of Althan Khan, had visited Khálkhá. By reason of their spiritual relation Buddhism flourished there. Guśri-khán, on only hearing its name, imbibed faith and veneration for Buddha. He made many salutations by repeated prostrations towards that sacred country (Tibet), thereby hurting his forehead. When he was twenty-five years' old, his mother died. In order to celebrate her funeral and for her salvation, he distributed a large quantity of gold and silver as alms to the poor. On a certain occasion there arose a dispute between the Orod and Khálkhá. Being overpowered by compassion, he came before the Khálkhá assembly to plead for the amicable settlement of the matter, removed their differences and, having brought the contending nations to terms, returned to his own country. At this Ton-khor Chho-je and the princes and ministers of Khálkhá became greatly delighted. They gave him the title of "Tai-kausri." During the Dalai Lamá Sonam Gya-tsho's visit to Mongolia, an Orod came to reverence him. He saluted and presented him a book called Serhod Tampa. On being asked the name of the book, the Orod replied, "Lord! this is called Althan-keral."* The Gyalvañ (Dalai), then accepted the man's alms and predicted that in the land of Orod after twenty years Buddhism should be introduced. According to this prediction, Guśri-khán introduced Buddhism by translating Serhod-Tampa and many other volumes after a lapse of twenty years.

* From althan, gold, and keral (Sanskrit *kiran*), ray of light, golden light.

During this time king Chha-Har having embroiled the six great principalities in internal wars, one of the princes took refuge among the Kháلكhá tribes. The Kháلكhá princes not agreeing to shelter the refugee, fell out among themselves. One of their chiefs named Chhog-thu, banished from his own country, took possession of the Amdo province. No sooner had he established his power over the Amdo people, than he began to injure Buddhism in general, and more particularly the Gelugpa church. When the report of his evil doings reached Guśri-Khán, he became greatly enraged. In order to succour particularly the church of Tsońkhapa, he left his native place at the head of a large army, and in the year *fire-ox* arrived near Khokhonur where he inflicted a signal defeat on Chhog-thu and slew 40,000 soldiers in the field. The whole of Amdo now passed under his power.

He then started for U to pay homage to the Dalai, Taśi and Gaḥdan Thipa of whom the last was the spiritual father of the other two. He had an interview with the fifth Gyal-vañ (Dalai-Lama) and Panchhen-Lo-ssañ Chhoi kyi-gyal-tshan whom he greatly venerated. At the time of his visit to the Gaḥdan monastery which took place during the night of the new moon, he saw the interior of the monastery by the light emitted from luminous pebbles on the floor and through the avenues. This event he considered very auspicious. In the year *fire-ox* during the winter season he returned to Khokhonur. In the mean time king Beri of Kham commenced to persecute the Buddhists, having himself become a proselyte to the Bon religion. Hearing this, Guśri-Khán marched towards Kham in the year *earth-hare* with a large army, commenced hostilities and annexed Kham to his dominions. King Beri was captured in the year *iron-dragon*, on the 25th of the 11th month and was thrown into a prison in Kham, while all the Lamas and chiefs of the Sakya-pa, Gelug-pa, Karma-pa, Duk-pa and Tagluñ-pa sects were liberated, and sent to their respective monasteries. After defeating Beri, Guśri Khán turned his attention towards the conquest of Jañ, the king of which country submitted to him without hostilities and agreed to pay him homage and tribute.

During this period the whole of Tibet was ruled by king De-si-Tsañpa whose fort was the castle of Shi-ga-tse. Having adopted the teaching of the Karmapa school, he tried to exalt it above all others and evinced much disregard towards the Gelugpa school. Guśri Khan took umbrage at this. Accordingly, to raise the prestige of the Gelugpa church, he invaded U and Tsañ at the head of his army, defeated all the armies of Tsañ and sent the vanquished monarch and his ministers captives to the prison house at Neḥu, in U, and brought the whole of Tibet under his power. He was now acknowledged as the sovereign of the countries Tibet, Kham and Amdo. He organised an enlightened

government. He extirpated all enemies and rivals of the Gelugpa church. The Indian king Rabo Siñ, the king of Yambu (Nepal), and the Rájá of Nari and many other border kings sent him presents according to their national custom. Afterwards he made a present of the whole of Tibet proper to the fifth Dalai Lama in the year 1645 A. D., and thereby laid the foundation of the fame and dignity of the Court of the Dalai Lamas. Even at the present day their earthly mansion Potálá or Gaḥdan Phodañ is believed to be a counterpart of the celestial mansion of Gaḥdan or Tushitapuri (Paradise). Guśri Khán (Kausri Khán) had ten sons, of whom Táyen Khán and his grandson Lhá-ssañ ruled successively in Tibet. Guśri's son, Tha-ákhu-taśi Bathur, became king of Khokhonur. Thus the descendants of Guśri Khán, though they ruled separately as independent princes, did not require to be directed by others, but, subsequently, on account of the war raised by Tan-zing Wañ, they were weakened, when the Emperor of China subjugated them all and annexed their countries to his dominions. But he allowed them to retain their respective possessions, and permitted them to follow their religious observances, according to the Gelugpa principles. It became customary with a great number of Mongolian Lamas to enter the different monastic colleges of Tibet, to study sacred literature. On their return from Tibet they shewed themselves capable of teaching the sacred religion. They founded schools in their respective native places. Holy personages from U and Tsañ, Amdo and Kham, having come to take their birth in Mongolia, the country of Hor has now become flooded with monasteries and chhortens and religious congregations. The study of dialectics also has been introduced there.

With the exception of Solonpa, Bargwad and a few other savage tribes, all the Mongols are Buddhists. The heretical Yavana (Lálo) religion decayed and passed away. The old schools of Sakyapa and Karmapa Lamas were abolished, and in their place the Gelugpa school flourished encompassing the land.

A GENEALOGY OF THE MONGOLIAN MONARCHY.*

(Ancestors of Jeñghis-khán).

Theñgir-khu-borta Chhi.

Bada-chhi-khan.

Tham-chhag.

Chhi-Jimer-khan.

* Obtained from Tibetan sources.

La-u-Jaā-bhere-rol.

Pagu-ni-dun.

Sem-dsa-Ji.

Lá-Ju.

Dú-pán-mer-khan.

Podon-ehhar-mu-khan.

Gai-ehhi.

Bi-khir.

Manan-tho-Jan.

Gai-tho-khan.

Bai-shiā.

Khor-thog-shin.

Dum-ba-khai-khan.

Go-len-la-khan.

Bar-than-BA-DUB, (*Badur* or *Bathur* a hero, from which the
word *Bahádur* is probably derived.)

Ye-phur-ga badur,
married to
Huu-lun.

CHINGIS KHAN or JENGHIS KHAN (born 1182 A. D., reigned
23 years, and was killed by his wife).
Añkoda. (reigned 6 years)

Goyug (reigned 4 years) Gogan or Goyugan (also called
or Gutan).
Koyug.

Olta or Aulta (reigned 6 months)

Muñkhe Khan (reigned 9 years)

KHUBLAI KHAN (reigned 35 year, died at the age of 80)
Sechhen.

Yesun Themur (reigned 5 years)

O-Wań-Je or Olje (reigned 13 years)

Haisan Khulug (not known)

Poyanthu (reigned 9 years)

Siddhi Pála Yeń (reigned 3 years)
Ju-thi

Yesun thumer (reigned 5 years)

Ra-khyi-Phag (reigned 40 days).

Kushala-go-thiń (reigned 30 days).

Thog-thumer Chi-ya-thu (reigned 5 years).

Erteni Chhog-thi (reigned 1 month).

Tho-gan Thumer* or Themur (1333 A. D., he sat for 35 years on the Imperial throne of China, and fled from Pekin in secret to save himself from the conspiracy formed by the Chinese nobles against his life).

The Miń Dynasty superseded the Mongol Dynasty in China.

* From Thumer or Themur the name Timur is probably formed.

*Memoir of the Author of the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri. By MAJOR
G. H. RAVERTY, Bombay Army (Retired).*

Few materials exist for a notice of this author, and these are chiefly furnished by himself.

The first mention he makes of his family is to the effect that "the Imám, 'Abd-ul-Khálik, the Júrjáni, having, in his early manhood, dreamt a dream on three successive occasions, urging him to proceed to Ghaznín and seek a wife, set out thither; and, subsequently, obtained in marriage one of the forty daughters of Sulṭán Ibráhím of Ghaznín," who was in the habit of bestowing his daughters, in marriage, upon reverend and pious Sayyids and 'Ulamá, like other Musalmán rulers have continued to do, down to recent times.

By this wife, 'Abd-ul-Khálik had a son, whom he named Ibráhím, after his maternal grandfather, the Sulṭán; and he was our author's great-grandfather. He was the father of the Mauláná Minháj-ud-Dín 'Uṣmán, who was the father of the Mauláná Saráj-ud-Dín Muḥammad—who is called Ibráhím by some—who was known by the title of 'Ujúbat-uz-Zamán or "the Wonder of the Age." He was the father of the Mauláná Minháj-ud-Dín* Abú-'Umar-i-'Uṣmán, the author of the History entitled the Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri, who thence often brings in his father's and grandfather's name, styling himself Minháj-i-Saráj-i-Minháj, the two *izáfats* being used to signify *son of* in place of the Arabic *bin*.

Our author's ancestors, on both sides, for several generations, appear to have been ecclesiastics of repute and men distinguished for learning. He states that he possessed, among the *miṣál* or diplomas granted to his maternal ancestors by the Kḥalífahs, one from the Kḥalífah Mustazí B'illah, conferring the Kází-ship of the fortress, or rather, fortified town, of Túlak, described in his work, together with that over the Kḥistán, and the Jibál—Highlands—of Hirát, upon his maternal grandfather, in conformity with the diploma previously held by the latter's father before him. His paternal grandfather also received an honorary dress from the same Pontiff; and our author says that he himself possessed the diploma which was sent along with it.

In the oldest copies of the text, and in several of the more recent, our author almost invariably styles himself 'the Júrjáni' (جورجانی), as I have from the outset rendered it; but those MSS. noticed in the Preface to the Translation, which appear to have been copied from the same source as that from which the India Office Library MS. was taken, or from that copy

* The title, Saráj-ud-Dín, means "The Lamp, or the Luminary of the Faith," and Minháj-ud-Dín, "The High-road, or the Way of the Faith." See "Translation," note², page 1295.

itself, generally have جوزجانی *Júzjáni* and sometimes *Júrjáni* as above. If the point of ز *z* be left out, as is very liable to be the case, like the points of other letters, by copyists, it is but simple ر *r*. Words containing long ú ^و are often written with the short vowel *zammah* or *pesh* — — instead of و ^و; and hence, in some few copies, it is جُرْجَانِي *Júrjáni*, while sometimes it is written both ways in the same MS.

Since writing note⁷, at page 321 of my "Translation," giving an account of the Amír Mas'úd's inroad into the northern parts of Ghúr, when on his way from Ghaznín to Hirát, I have considered that the word given by our author referred to the tract of country described in that note as the Gúzgánán, or the Gúzgáns, by Tájíks, but which Arabs, and people of Arab descent, who use ج *j* for the Tájízk گ *g*, turn into Júzjánán, and that the word he uses in connexion with his own name refers to one of the Gúzgáns, and that he should be styled 'the Gúzgání' or 'the Júzjáni.' As the most trustworthy copies of the text, the best and most correctly written, had Júrjáni, I considered it necessary to follow them as I had begun, and to mention the matter more in detail in the Memoir of the Author's life.

Gúzgán, as the native inhabitants styled it, and Arabs Júzján, is not the name of a single town, village, or fortress, but of two or more of the small districts or tracts of country among the mountains, on the north-west frontier of the country of Ghúr, and north of Hirát, beyond the Murgh-Ab—the Jibál of Hirát, as he himself styles it,—but its exact position, and the localities of most of the great fortresses mentioned by our author in the last Section of his work, are at present unknown to us. The Gúzgánán, or Gúzgáns, were the appanage of the Amír Muḥammad, brother of Mas'úd; and it was from thence that he was brought when he assumed the throne of Ghaznín after the death of his father. Notwithstanding the details which our author gives respecting the great fortresses of Ghúr, Gharjistán, and other parts, including the fortress of Túlak, which appears to have been his own place of residence at the time, and also the home of his maternal relatives (see "Translation," page 1066 and note⁵), which he helped to defend against the Mughal invaders, and which must have been situated in one of the Gúzgáns, he never once, throughout his whole work, refers to Gúzgán or Júzján, except in connexion with his own name. See also notes to pages 186 and 232.

After the Ghúris obtained possession of Láhor in 582 H., and they had seized the Sultán, Khusrau Malik, the last of the Sultáns of Ghaznín, our author's father was made Kází of the Ghúrián army stationed at Láhor, under the Sipah-Sálár, 'Alí-i-Kar-mákh; and twelve camels were assigned him for the conveyance of the establishment of his office, his tribunal, etc., on the line of march.

Our author was born after this, in the year 589 H., the very year in which Dihlí, of which, and of which Musalmán kingdom, he was subsequently to become the chief Kázi and Šadr, was made the seat of the Musalmán government in Hindústán by the Turk Mamlúk, Kuṭb-ud-Dín I-bak, who was, in after years, to become its first Muḥammadan Sultán. That our author was born at Láhor, as the Daghístání, referred to farther on, asserts, cannot be correct; for, from what he himself states respecting his arrival at Uchchah in 624 H. [see pages 541 and 722], that was the first time he set foot in Hind. Had he been born at Láhor, he would, doubtless, have mentioned it, and he would probably have been styled and known as the Láhorí in consequence.

The next mention he makes of his father is, that, when Sultán Bahá-ud-Dín Sám, ruler of Bámián and Tuḡhárístán, succeeded his father on the throne, he desired that our author's father, the Mauláná Saráj-ud-Dín Muḥammad, should take up his residence in his kingdom and enter his service. With the sanction of his own sovereign and patron, and Bahá-ud-Dín Sám's suzerain, namely, the Sultán of Ghúr, Ghiyás-ud-Dín Muḥammad-i-Sám, the Mauláná proceeded to the Court of Bahá-ud-Dín Sám, and was made Kázi of the kingdom of Bámián and Tuḡhárístán, with the judicial administration over its forces, was made censor, with full powers as regards ecclesiastical law, and entrusted with the charge of two colleges and their funds. This happened in 591 H., when our author was in his third year. He states that the diploma conferring these offices upon his father, in the handwriting of the Wazír of the Bámián state, was still contained in the *ḵharáṭah* [a bag of embroidered silk for holding documents] containing his own diplomas; his banner and turban of honour.

The mother of our author was the foster-sister and school-mate of the Princess Máh Malik, the daughter of Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín Muḥammad-i-Sám, mention of which lady will be found in several places in his History; and his mother appears to have continued in her service after her marriage. Our author distinctly states that his early years were passed in the *Haram* of the Princess, until the period of his entering upon adolescence, when, according to Musalmán usages, he had to be sent elsewhere. He speaks in terms of much gratitude of the fostering kindness and protection he received while dwelling in that Princess's household. Under these circumstances, Láhor can scarcely have been the place of his birth.

As early as his seventh year our author began to prosecute his studies; and used to attend that eminent teacher and Imám 'Alí, the Gharmaní, for the purpose of acquiring the Kur'án by heart.

When Sultán Takish, Khwárazm Sháh, withdrew his allegiance from the Khálfah Un-Náṣir-ud-Dín-Ullah, and the latter's troops had been defeated by him, Ibn-ur-Rabbí', and Ibn-ul-Khaṭib, on two different occa-

sions, came as envoys to the Courts of the Sultāns of Ghūr and Ghaznīn to demand aid from those monarchs against Sultān Takish. In consequence, the Imām Shams-ud-Dīn, the Turk, and the Maulānā Sarāj-ud-Dīn Muḥammad, the Tájzik, our author's father, were directed to proceed to Baghdād, to the K̄halifah's Court, along with the envoys.* They set out for Baghdād by way of Mukrán; and, in some affray into which they fell on the road, they were attacked by a band of robbers, and our author's father was killed. Intimation of his death was received in a communication from the K̄halifah to the Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Muḥammad-i-Sām, in these words: "Furthermore, Sarāj-i-Minhāj perished in an affray on the road. The Almighty recompense him!"

Another of our author's relatives, his mother's brother's son, was Ziyā-ud-Dīn Muḥammad, son of 'Abd-us-Sallām, K̄azī of Túlak, who was left in command of the fortress of Tabarhindah, with a force of 1200 Túlakis, by the Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Muḥammad-i-Sām, when that Sultān was about to retire from Hind before the hot season of 587 H., intending to return after it was over and relieve him. The K̄azī of Túlak was to hold the place for seven months; but as the Sultān, just after this arrangement was made, was defeated by Rāe Pithorā and severely wounded in the battle, and an expedition into K̄burāsān soon after intervened, he was totally unable to come to the K̄azī's relief, as agreed upon, in the following season, and, consequently, after having held out over thirteen months, the K̄azī Ziyā-ud-Dīn Muḥammad had to capitulate.

At the time Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd, son of Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Muḥammad-i-Sām, was assassinated by the K̄hwārazmī refugees, in Šafar, 607 H., our author was dwelling at Fīrūz-koh, and was then in his eighteenth year.

In 611 H., the year preceding the surrender of his capital Fīrūz-koh, by the last of the Sultāns of the Ghūrī dynasty, our author proceeded thither. Two years after we find him in Sijistān, at Zaranj, the capital, where he remained some time. At this period the whole of the territories which had formed the empire of the Ghūrīs, including the dominions of Ghaznīn, and extending east of the Indus into the upper part of the Sind-Sāgar Do-ābah of the Panj-āb as far as the Jhīlam, had fallen under the

* He was despatched on this mission by Ghiyās-ud-Dīn Muḥammad-i-Sām, Sultān of Ghūr, the elder brother and suzerain of Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Muḥammad, Sultān of Ghaznīn. The latter is mentioned in a paper in this Journal, Part I., No. 1, for 1880, page 28, by Mr. C. R. Stüpnagel, who, is at a loss to know why the elder brother's name appears on his younger brother's coins, and informs us that "of Sultān Ghiyās-ud-Dīn scarcely anything is known." Some information respecting him will be found in the Translation of the author's History, and in note⁵, page 472, and ², page 489. See also Part I., No. II., page 84, of the "*Journal*."

sway of the Khwárazmís. These events must, in some way, have been the cause of his sojourn in Sijistán for seven months, but he is quite silent on the causes which led him there. See page 195.

In 617 H., during the first inroad of the Mughals into Ghúr and Khurásán, before the Chingiz Khán himself crossed the Oxus with his main army, our author was living at Túlak; and, shortly after, in the same year, took part in the defence of that fortified town against the invaders, who kept prowling about it for about eight months. During a period of four years, from the above mentioned year up to the close of 620 H., during which the Mughals made several attempts upon it, he helped to defend it.

In 618 H., the year in which he says the Chingiz Khán crossed the Jihún into Khurásán, and he was in his thirtieth year, he married the daughter of a kinsman of his own; and, in 620 H., he determined, as soon as circumstances permitted, to leave his native country, and proceed into Hindústán, not liking, apparently, to dwell in a country overrun by the Mughal infidels. In 621 H. he was despatched from Túlak, where he was then living, and in the defence of which against the Mughals he had just taken part, by Malik Táj-ud-Dín Hasan-i-Khar-post to Isfizár, after Khurásán had become clear of Mughals, and from thence into the Kuhistán—the Chingiz Khán had, at that time, returned homewards—to endeavour to arrange for the re-opening of the *kárwán* routes, which, during the Mughal invasion, had been closed, and the traffic suspended.

On a second occasion, in 622 H., he again proceeded from Túlak into the Kuhistán for the same purpose, at the request of Malik Rukn-ud-Dín Muhammad, son of 'Uṣmán, the Maraghání, of Kháesár of Ghúr, the father of Malik Shams-ud-Dín Muhammad, the first of the Kurat dynasty, as the Tájzík—not Afghán, I beg leave to say—rulers of the fiefs of Hirát and Ghúr and their dependencies, who were the vassals of the Mughals, were styled. The following year he again set out on a journey into the Kuhistán, on the part of Malik Rukn-ud-Dín Muhammad, that the *kárwán* route might be re-opened. From Kháesár he first went to Faráh, and from thence proceeded by way of Sijistán into the territory referred to, and returned to Kháesár again.

In 623 H., our author, who appears to have left Túlak and was residing at Kháesár, with the permission of Malik Rukn-ud-Dín Muhammad went to Faráh in order to purchase a little silk required by him for his journey into Hindústán. Having arrived in the neighbourhood of Faráh, Malik Táj-ud-Dín Binál-Tigín the Khwárazmí, who then ruled over Sijistán, and was engaged in war with the Muláhidah of the Kuhistán, induced him to undertake a journey into the latter territory, to endeavour to bring about an accommodation between himself and the Muláhidah

governor of that part, the Muhtashim, Shams-ud-Dín. Our author was accompanied by the son of Malik Rukn-ud-Dín Muḥammad whose name is not mentioned, but, in all probability, it was the identical Shams-ud-Dín, Muḥammad, the founder of the Kurat dynasty. Our author succeeded in effecting an accommodation, but it does not appear to have been on terms acceptable to Malik Táḳ-ud-Dín Binál-Tigín; for he wished him to return to the Muhtashim's presence and declare war again. This he declined to do, as he had several times put off his journey into Hind, and was now desirous of departing without further delay, and before the Mughals should again appear. Malik Táḳ-ud-Dín Binál Tigín was wroth at this refusal, and shut him up within the walls of the fortress of Ṣafhed of Sijistán. There he was detained for a period of forty-three days, but, Malik Rukn-ud-Dín Muḥammad having interfered in his behalf, he was set at liberty.

He did not allow the grass to grow under his feet after this; and in the fifth month of the following year—Jamádi-ul-Awwal, 624 H., [in another place he says it was Rajab, the seventh month, while in another place—page 612—he says it was in 625 H.], by way of Ghaznín and Baníán, he reached Uchchah by boat; and, in the following Zí-Hijjah, Sultán Náṣir-ud-Dín Ḳabá-jah, ruler of Uchchah and Multán, placed him in charge of the Fírúzí College at Uchchah, and made him Kází of the forces of his son, 'Alá-ud-Dín Bahrám Sháh.

Our author could distinguish the winning side, and preferred it; for, no sooner had Sultán Shams-ud-Dín I-yal-timish, ruler of Dihlí, Ḳabá-jah's rival, appeared before Uchchah, than he deserted Ḳabá-jah and the Fírúzí College, and went over to his rival. In the first place, our author presented himself before Malik Táḳ-ud-Dín, Sanjar-i-Gajz-lak Ḳhán, who was in command of the van of I-yal-timish's forces; and, a few days after, I-yal-timish himself having arrived, he waited on him. He was favourably received, and was appointed to officiate, in his priestly capacity, within that Sultán's camp. After the fall of Uchchah, he accompanied I-yal-timish to Dihlí; and reached it in Ramaḳán, 625 H.

He subsequently accompanied the Sultán, in his priestly capacity, to Gwáliyúr in 629 H.; and, in the following year, after that stronghold was taken possession of, was made Kází Khaṭíb, and Imám of Gwáliyúr and its dependencies, under the governor, Rashíd-ud-Dín 'Alí. In the early part of Sultán Raḳiyyat's reign he returned to Dihlí, but he was not removed from office, neither was he a "forgiven rebel;"* and, during his absence from Gwáliyúr, his Deputies acted for him. On reaching the capital, in 635 H., that sovereign added to his offices that of Superintendent of the Náṣiríah College at Dihlí.

* See Translation, page 1285, and Thomas's "*Pathán Kings of Dehli*," page 105.

In the year 639 H., in the reign of Sultán Mu'izz-ud-Dín, Bahrá'm Sháh, our author was made Chief Kází of the Dihlí kingdom, and of the capital as well. In the disturbances which arose between that Sultán and his Amírs, our author, and other ecclesiastics, endeavoured to bring about a peaceful accommodation, but without effect. In Zí-Ka'dah of the same year, the Khwájah, Muḥazzab-ud-Dín, the Wazír, bribed a number of villains to murder him; and, after the conclusion of the Friday's prayers, on the 7th of that month, they actually attacked him in the Jámí' Masjid, but he escaped without hurt.

Soon after, on the accession of Sultán 'Alá-ud-Dín, Mas'úd Sháh, on the Khwájah, Muḥazzab-ud-Dín, being re-appointed Wazír, our author, in 640 H., resigned the Chief Kázíship, and in Rajab of that year left Dihlí in order to proceed into the territory of Lakhanawati. There he remained about two years, and there he acquired his information respecting it and its rulers. While residing in that country, he accompanied Malik Tughril-i-Tughán Khán in his expedition against the Ráe of Jáj-Nagar, and was present at the attack on the frontier post of Katásin, in Shawwál, 641 H. On the removal of that Malik from the government Lakhanawati in 643 H., our author accompanied him on his return to Dihlí, and, in Šafar of that year, presented himself at Court. Muḥazzab-ud-Dín had in the meantime been put to death by the Amírs; and, through the interest and efforts of his subsequent munificent patron, Malik Ghiyás-ud-Dín, Balban (afterwards Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam, and subsequently Sultán of Dihlí), who held the office of Amír-i-Hájib, three days after his return, he was put in charge of the Násiríah College once more, and entrusted with the administration of its endowments, the lectureship of the Jámí' Masjid, and the Kázíship of Gwáliyúr, according to the previous grant. Subsequently, in the same year, he accompanied the army which advanced to the banks of the river Biáh for the relief of Uchchah when invested by the Mughals.

In 644 H., at Jalhandar [in the Panjáb], on the return of the army, on the occasion of performing the services prescribed for the 'Id-i-Azhá in the hall of the College there, the new Sultán, Násir-ud-Dín Maḥmúd Sháh, to whom his History is dedicated, and after whom it is named, presented our author with a cloak, a turban, and a richly caparisoned horse. In 645 H., he wrote a description, in verse, of the expedition against Talsandah, entitled the "Násirí Námah." The Sultán rewarded him for this with a yearly stipend, and Malik Ghiyás-ud-Dín Balban, the hero of the poem, and commander of the expedition, gave him the revenues of a village in the Hánsí province, which was that Malik's fief at that period. In 649 H., for the second time, the Chief Kázíship of the Dihlí kingdom with jurisdiction over the capital as well, was conferred upon him; but when, two years after, in 651 H., the eunuch, 'Imád-ud-Dín-i-Rayhán,

succeeded in his conspiracy for the removal from office of our author's patron, who had been raised to the title of *Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam* in 647 H., and he was banished the Court, our author, like others of the *Ulugh Khán's* clients and supporters, was removed from the office of Chief *Kází*, and it was conferred upon one of the *Rayhání's* creatures, notwithstanding our author stood so high in the estimation of the weak and puppet *Sultán*. In 652 H., matters improved a little: a new *Wazír* succeeded; and, while in the *Kol* district, whither our author appears to have accompanied the *Sultán's* Court, the title of *Šadr-i-Jahán** was conferred upon him.

At the close of the following year the *Rayhání* was ousted from office, the *Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam* again assumed the direction of affairs, and our author, who, for months past, had been unable, for fear of his life, to leave his dwelling, even to attend the Friday's service in the *Jámi' Masjid*, was in *Rabí-ul-Awwal*, 653 H., for the third time, made Chief *Kází* of the *Dihlí* kingdom, with jurisdiction over the capital as before.

With the exception of his remark at page 715 of his History in winding up the events of the year 658 H., that if his life should be spared—he was then in his seventieth year—and aptitude should remain, whatever events might subsequently occur would be recorded, our author henceforward disappears from the scene, and we hear no more of him. At the end of his account of the *Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam* farther on, he does not renew that promise, nor does he do so when finally closing his History. The munificent rewards he received on presenting copies of his work to the *Sultán* and to the latter's father-in-law, the *Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam*, are mentioned at page 1294. He refers to his family casually, now and then, in his work, but, with a single exception, enters into no particulars whatever. At page 820 he says, with reference to the *Malik-ul-Hujjáb* [Head of the Chamberlains], '*Alá-ud-Dín*, the *Zinjání*, that he is "his son, and the light of his eyes;" but he could not have been his son from the fact of his being styled "the *Zinjání*," that is to say, a native of *Zinján* in *Khurásán*. He may have been his son-in-law, or an adopted son.

When the emissaries from *Khurásán* were received by the *Sultán*, *Násir-ud-Dín Maḥmúd Sháh*, as related at page 857, our author composed a poem befitting the occasion, and this, he says, was read before the throne by one of his sons. He also, in one place, refers to a brother.

Between the time when our author closes his History in 658 H., and the *Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam* succeeded to the throne of *Dihlí* under the title of *Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín*, in 664 H.—the date generally accepted, although *Faṣih-i* says it was in 662 H.—is a period of about six years; and, as no other writer that we know of has recorded the events of that period, it is a

* See "Translation," page 698, and note^s.

complete blank in Indian History, which, I fear, cannot be filled up. Ziyá-ud-Dín Baraní, in his *Tárikh-i-Fírúz-Sháhí*, which is not much to be depended on, says he takes up the relation of events from the time our author left off, but this is not correct, for he begins with the reign of Sultán Ghiyás-ud-Dín Balban.

Our author died in his reign, but when cannot be discovered, neither can the place of his burial. Possibly some inscription may hereafter turn up which may tell us, but there is no record available in any of the works I have waded through in search of the information. Whether his health failed him; whether he grew out of favour with his old patron, the new Sultán; or whether circumstances arose which, as regards the Ulugh Khán's conduct towards the weak-minded, but amiable, Sultán Násir-ud-Dín Maḥmúd Sháh, would not bear the light of day—for there are vague statements of foul play on the part of the Ulugh Khán, but no proofs—who shall say? Some writers state that the Sultán died a natural death, which is most probable, and some further add that he, having neither offspring nor heir, nominated his father-in-law, the Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam, his successor, which was but natural, seeing that, for nearly twenty years, he had virtually ruled the state. That the Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam poisoned him appears unworthy of credence, since, had he desired to supplant him, or get rid of him, he might have effected either object many years before. See "Translation," note⁵, page 716.

The only mention I can find, after much search, respecting these years, between the closing of our author's History and the accession of the new Sultán, is the following from Faṣih-í. "Sultán Násir-ud-Dín Maḥmúd Sháh died in this year 662 H., and great anarchy and disorder arose throughout the territory of Hindústán. At last, since among the great Amírs of Hind, for prudence, counsel, wisdom, munificence, dignity, magnificence, and power, the Amír Ghiyás-ud-Dín [the Ulugh Khán-i-A'zam] was preeminently distinguished, and as he had obtained his freedom previously—a matter never alluded to by our author—he, with the unanimous accord of the great nobles and grandees of the kingdom, ascended the throne of Dihlí in the beginning of this year, 662 H."

The Dághistání, previously referred to, in his *Tazkirah* under the letter س s has the following:—"Saráj-ud-Dín-i-Minháj is the author of the *Ṭabaḳát-i-Násirí*, which he completed in the name of the Malik of Hind, Násir-ud-Dín. His birthplace was Láhor, and his origin was from Samr-kand."

This last sentence of the Dághistání's is sufficient to show that he is not entirely to be depended upon, in this instance at least. Our author's family was not from Samr-kand. The Dághistání also gives the following as a quatrain of our author's:—

“ That heart which, through separation, thou madest sad ;
 From every joy that was, which thou madest bare of ;
 From thy disposition I am aware that, suddenly and unexpectedly,
 The rumour may arise that thou hast broken it.”

In the “*Aḵhbār-ul-Aḵhyār*”—a Biographical Collection of Notices of Saints—of 'Abd-ul-Ḥaḳḳ [he died 1052 H. = 1642 A. D.], the following will be found respecting our author :—“ The Shaiḳh, Ḳāzī Minhāj, the Jurjānī, the author of the *Ṭabaḳāt-i-Nāṣiri*, was a saint, and one of the most learned and excellent of his time, and one of those who would become filled with religious ecstasies on hearing the singing at *Zikrs* or *Tazkirs*. When he became Ḳāzī of Hindústān, that office assumed integrity and rectitude. The Shaiḳh, Nizām-ud-Dīn,* states :—“ I used, every Monday to go to his *Tazkirs*, until, one day, when I was present at one of them, he delivered this quatrain :—

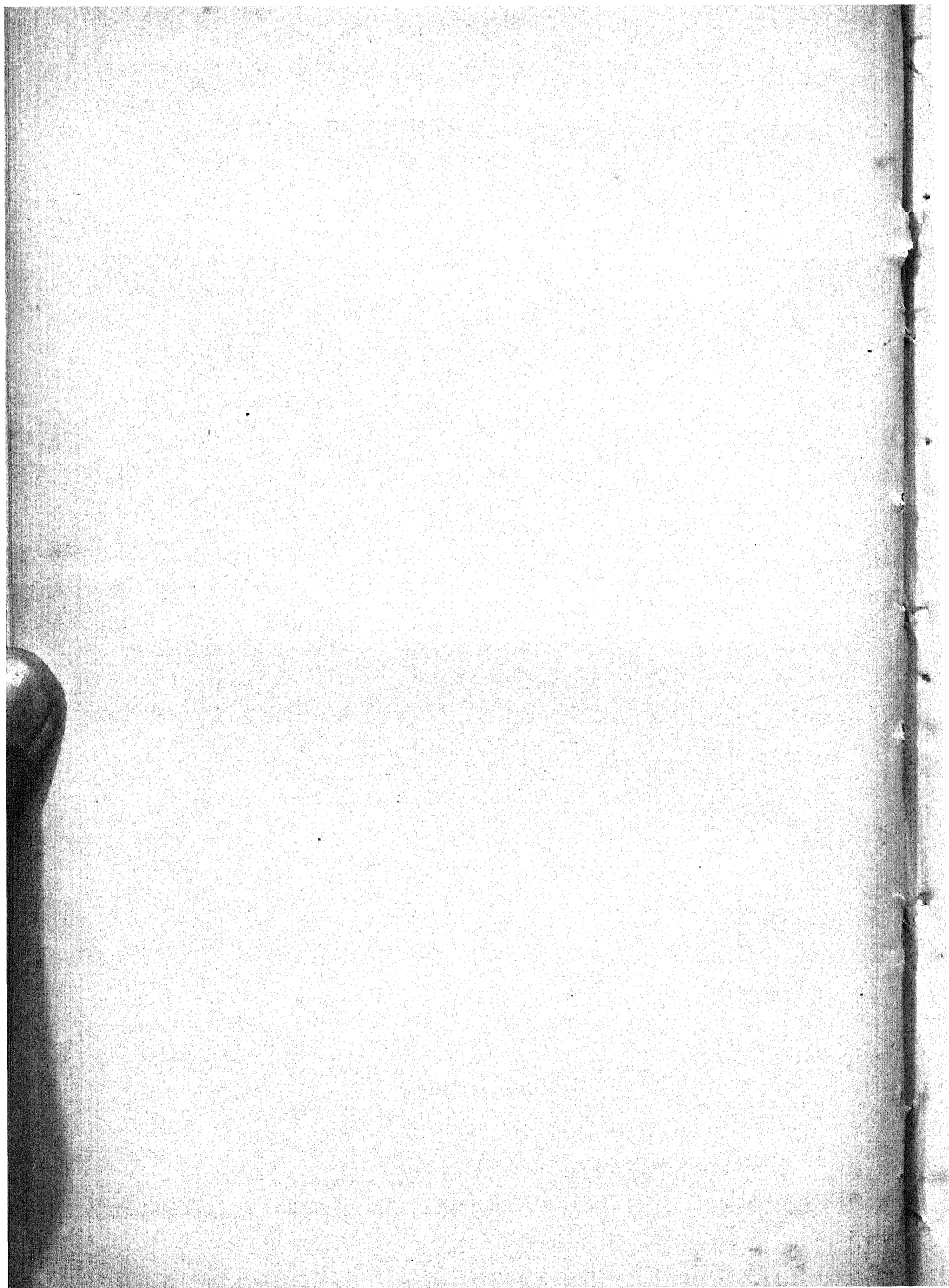
“ ‘ The lip, in the ruby lips of heart-ravishers delighting,
 And to ruffle the dishevelled tresses essaying,
 To-day is delightful, but to-morrow it is not—
 To make one's self like as straw, fuel for the fire.’ ”

“ ‘ When I heard this verse,’ says the Shaiḳh, Nizām-ud-Dīn, ‘ I became as one beside myself ; and it was some time, before I came to my senses again.’ ”

Our author appears to have been deeply imbued with the tenets of Ṣūfī-ism, for a brief essay on which, see the Introduction to my “*Poetry of the Afghāns*.” Professor Sprenger tells me that he was a notorious Ṣūfī. A good account of these *Zikrs*, or *Tazkirs*, will be found in the notes to the Third Chapter of Lane's “*Thousand and One Nights*.”

In the Preface dedicating his work to the Sultān Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh, our author mentions the reasons which led him to write it, and this will appear as the Preface to the Translation of his History.

* This, probably, is no other than the celebrated saint of Dihlī.



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Contributions on the Religion, History &c., of Tibet.—By BABOO SARAT CHANDRA DÁS, Deputy Inspector of Schools, Darjiling.

(Continued from page 75).

VIII.—RISE AND PROGRESS OF JIN OR BUDDHISM IN CHINA.¹

CHAPTER I.

BUDDHISM INTRODUCED FROM INDIA.

Mé-tse religious sect.—Previous to the spread of Buddhism in China, there arose certain religious sects which possessed something in common with Buddhism. One of those sects was called Mé-tse after the name of its founder. It enjoined every man to devote himself to the service and welfare of others even at the sacrifice of his own interests, life and body; it also taught that the nature of the soul from the beginning is pure and immaculate, and that only at times it suddenly becomes perverted by admixture of impurities produced by evil thought and action.

Li-ye-tse religious sect.—The second in importance among the non-Buddhist religions is that of Li-ye-tse, who taught that all things depend for their existence and development on mutual coherence and support. During this period, there having existed no communication with India, not a word of Buddha's name or religion was known in China. But Li-ye-tse, by his power of foreknowledge, wrote in his own work that in the West there would appear a self-created noble sage, the performer of great deeds, capable at will of engaging in the highest degree of meditation, and passing beyond the region of speech, who would be called by the name

¹ Translated from Dub-thah selkyi Mólóñ. See Vol. L, p. 187, note 1.

of Buddha. By this prediction he first made known the sweet name of Buddha in the country of China.

Chwañ-tse.—Again the founder of another religious sect, called Chwañ-tse, saw in a vision that he was metempsychosed into a butterfly. After awaking from sleep, he reflected on the meaning of such a transient and empty dream which lavishes all on you and at last vanishes as a phantom, and inferred that life was an illusion.

Yu-su.—Again another teacher named 'Yu-su' (meaning the lord of the world), who was famed as born of a rose, preached a religion which forbade the destruction of human lives and instituted the taking of vows for observing ten moral acts, similar to those of the Buddhists. It also taught that, the results of virtuous actions being multiplied, the pious should be born as gods to enjoy eternal happiness; that on the other hand, the perpetrators of sinful actions should be plunged in hell, to be afflicted with everlasting pains; and that despite their repentance or confession of sins, greater damnation would await those who had knowingly and deliberately transgressed.

All these different sects prevailed in China as can be gathered from the religious histories of China. They did not spread all over the country, nor did their influence guide men for any considerable length of time, but they paved the way for the reception of Buddhism in that vast country.

In the 26th year of the reign of Chou-Wañ, the fifth of the Tehu Dynasty, there appeared, towards the south-western boundary of the kingdom, a halo of golden light, the lustre of which illuminated the realm. The king having witnessed this wonderful spectacle asked the astrologers what was meant by it. They declared that it presaged the birth of a saintly personage in that quarter, whose religion, after one thousand years, should be known in their own country (China). The king recorded this wonderful phenomenon in the Imperial *debthiers*.² It was in that very year³ that Buddha was born. Some authors believe that it was the 24th year of the Emperor Chou-wañ's reign. At the age of twenty-nine Buddha entered on the life of a mendicant, on the 8th of the 2nd lunar month; he turned the wheel of Dharma between the 30th and 49th years of his age, and last of all it is mentioned in the works of Chinese Buddhists that he obtained nirvána⁴ in the 79th year of his age, on the 15th day of the second month.⁵ Buddha died in the 53rd year of the Emperor Moo-wañ's reign. In the 8th year of the reign of the Emperor Miñdhí-yuñ-phañ of the great Hán dynasty, 1013 years after

² Records.

³ The year 1882 A. D. = 2835 A. B., after the birth of Buddha.

⁴ Died.

⁵ This does not tally with the more correct account of the Indian historians, as may be collected from several Tibetan chronologies.

the birth of Buddha, Buddhism was brought to China. On an auspicious day, in the third year of his reign, Miñdhi saw in a vision, that a saintly personage with a golden complexion, bright as the sun, full three fathoms high, approached his throne from the direction of heaven. In the following morning Miñdhi communicated the night's dream to his ministers, one of whom named Fu-ye informed him, that there existed a certain prophecy about the appearance of a great noble sage in India, of the description that the king gave, and he begged to ascertain if it was not so. The king referred to the ancient records, and computing the dates, found that just 1010 years had elapsed. Exceedingly delighted with this remarkable coincidence, he despatched a messenger of the name of Wañ-tsun to India, in search of the doctrine of Buddha. During that time, there lived in India two great Arhats, one called Mátanga who was born of the race of Kaśyapa, and the other named Bhárapa Pañdita. The Chinese messenger besought them to visit his country, in order to spread the benefits of Buddhism among the teeming millions of his countrymen. The Arhats welcomed the invitation and equipped themselves for the journey. A few volumes of sacred scriptures, chiefly of the Maháyána school, several portraits and some sacred relics, all of which they packed on a white horse for conveyance, completed the church necessities with which they marched towards that distant land. They entered China by the southern route and were received by the Emperor at a place called Lou-yo-khyi in southern China. Accompanied by Wañ-tsun, the messenger, they arrived at the palace, while the king, with the greatest demonstration of reverence, approached to receive them. They presented to the king all that they had brought from their country. The king expressed himself well pleased with the presents, and especially with the image of Buddha which bore a striking resemblance to what he had seen in his vision. The Indian Arhats performed some miracles which served to strengthen the monarch's faith in Buddhism. He built a large temple called Péima-ssi and engaged his two Indian guests for conducting religious service therein. Seeing this, the priests of Lo-u-kyun,⁶ whose religion was then prevalent in China, remonstrated against the king's encouraging the new doctrine. They said that it would be improper to introduce an alien creed dissimilar to the ancient religion and practice of the country. They also exhibited many prodigies to convince the king of the superiority of their religion over Buddhism. The king, wavering much, at last decided that he should test the merits of both, by casting their respective religious scriptures into fire: whichever passed the ordeal successfully by being untouched by the fire, should have his patronage. It so happened that all the To-u-se⁶ books were burnt and the Buddhist volumes remained undamaged. The king being convinced of the impositions of the To-u-se priests, ordered that their high

⁶ [Referring to the Bon religion of China, see p. 112, Ed.]

priests Selou and Chhushen should be burnt alive. The two Indian Pandits were extolled to the skies. The king with his ministers and a large number of subjects embraced Buddhism.

On this occasion of the triumph of Buddhism over the To-u-se religion, the king uttered the following verses :

In a fox are not to be found the virtues of a lion,
The torch cannot enlighten like the sun or moon,
A lake cannot encompass the earth like the boundless main,
The splendour of Sumeru is not to be seen in a mountain,
The blessed clouds of religion encompassing the world
Will rain upon and quicken the seed of universal good ;
All that existed not before, will now appear.

From all quarters, ye moving beings, draw near the Victor (Jina)!

In the great fortress of He-nan-fu, the king erected seven temples, of which the temple of Peimassi⁷ was the principal one. He also established three convents for the use of nuns. The king himself took the vows of an Upāsaka (a lay devotee). More than a thousand men, headed by the ministers of State, entered monkhood. Once the king addressed the Indian sages thus,—“Venerable Fathers, within the environs of my kingdom, is there no saintly Being residing for the permanent good and protection of all living beings”? Mátaña replied : “Yes, Ārya Manjuśrī dwells in Revo-tse-ña on the top of Panchággra parvata.” He then gave an account of Manjuśrī’s chosen land, which, accompanied by his friend Pandit Bharāṇa he now prepared to find out. After much search he reached the enchanted spot which he distinguished from others by his saintly knowledge. He then reported it to the king—“During the days of Buddha Kaśyapa there lived a king of the name of Aśvakāla who, with the help of demons, constructed 84,000 chaityas, one of which exists on Revo-tse-ña containing a fragment of the genuine relics of Kaśyapa Buddha.” The Emperor, in order to preserve the ancient chaitya, built a lofty temple over it which is now called by the name Tábotha chhorten. Near it he erected the great monastery of Shen-thuñ-su. Among many other religious edifices that were built by this pious monarch, one is the “white chhorten” of Pekin (Pechin). The monastic establishment of Revo-tse-ña consisted of 620 monks and 230 nuns. The learned Arhat prepared an abridgement of the Hīnayāna Aphorisms and Sūtrāntas in the language of China. This work, the first Buddhist work in Chinese, is extant to the present day. Pandit Bharāṇa also translated the five Sūtrāntas, such as Dasa-Bhūmi &c. but unfortunately they are lost. In course of time Arhat Mátanga and Pandit Bharāṇa died. Miñdhi’s successor invited several other Indian Pandits. Among the first batch Ārya-kāla, Sthavira-Chilukáksha, Srāmāṇa Suvinaya, and five other Pandits were well-known. In the second batch

⁷ That is, ‘the Lord of the white elephant.’

Pandit Dharma-kāla and several other Pandits, well versed in Mahāyāna, Hīnayāna and Vinaya Dharma (discipline), were of great note.

The third batch of Indian Pandits, Gaṇapati, Tikhini and others. propagated Buddhism in Kiūnan and other provinces of southern China. These, with the Pandits who appeared during the reign of Napo Ōnaan, were the most learned translators and best linguists. Thereafter, during the reigns of the thirteen kings of the Han dynasty, fourteen kings of the Jin dynasty, several kings of Jin-Yugur Su and other dynasties, the Thaṅ dynasty of twenty kings, and eighteen kings of the Soong dynasty successively, Indian Pandits and sages were invited to China, all of whom exerted themselves to increase the stock of Chinese Buddhist scriptures. There also appeared a host of learned Hwashaṅ⁸ (Chinese monks and Sramanas), some of whom visited India to study Sanskrit and Buddhism. There were others who acquired great proficiency in Sanskrit without going to India. They were all profoundly read in Buddhism and wrote numerous elaborate works in the Chinese language, besides translating many volumes of Sanskrit Scriptures. They also wrote the lives of eminent Pandits of China, who laboured with wonderful energy for the diffusion of Buddhism. These are to be found in the Chinese works called "Histories of religion."

CHAPTER II.

BUDDHISM INTRODUCED FROM TIBET.

From the time of the establishment of the Tartar (Hor) supremacy in China, many Tibetan sages visited China and contributed more and more to the propagation of Buddhism. The number of translations of Buddha's teachings and S'āstras increased. Those that were translated after the reign of king Wendhu of the dynasty of Su were analyzed and catalogued. Twice during the reign of the Thaṅ dynasty and twice in that of the Soōṅ dynasty, the scriptures were revised, and additions made to them. All the books that were subsequently written were furnished with tables of contents and indexes. Last of all during the reign of the Tartar Emperor, Sa-chhen, the Chinese scriptures were compared with the Tibetan collections of the Kabgyur and Tangur. Such treatises and volumes as were wanting in the Chinese were translated from the Tibetan scriptures. All these formed one complete collection, the first part of which consisted of Buddha's teachings (Kabgyur). To the second part 21 volumes of translations from Tibetan, the Chinese S'āstras, and the works of eminent Hwashaṅ, comprising 153 volumes' were added. The whole collection consisted of 740 volumes. An analytic catalogue of all these books was also furnished. In this collection many S'āstras were found which did not exist in the Tibetan collections.

⁸ The same as Tibetan Lamas.

In China there were five Buddhist schools :

- I. The Vinaya or Hínayána school.
- II. The Mantra or Tantrik school.
- III. The Maháyána school.
- IV. The Gabhira Darśana school.
- V. The Sárārtha Tantra.

I. VINAYA OR HÍNAYÁNA SCHOOL.

The Indian sage Mátanga who first carried Buddhism into China was the first of this school in China. His successors, for a length of time maintained his school, but latterly it dwindled away when Kumára S'rí was invited to China. Kumára S'rí was a great scholar and deeply read in the sacred literature of the Buddhists. He had also a great fame for prodigies and foreknowledge. During this time Chandana Prabhu⁹ was also invited. King Huân-shi showed great reverence to him. Che-u-Hwashan and 800 other pupils of the Prabhu were engaged in the great work of translating the sacred scriptures into the Chinese language. Sermons and instructions in Maháyána philosophy were copiously given, and more particularly the vows of monkhood and of the Bodhisattva order were taken by many. Henceforth the Hwashan of China introduced the system of entering into the Bodhisattva order—a stage which is only attained after fulfilling the duties of asceticism of the first order. Kumára S'rí, together with Buddha Jñána, professor of Vinaya, Vimala Chakshu, and Dharma-ruchi and the most eminent of his colleagues, translated the four Vyákaranas of the Vinaya portion of the sacred literature, and thereby succeeded in enhancing the teaching of the Hínayána philosophy to the monks. Sthavira Sánta Varma, another illustrious Buddhist teacher, came from India to this country (China). The system of the Vinaya school, introduced by Kumára S'rí and matured by Sánta Varma, still prevails in China.

There is an account of the arrival in China of a famous Siñalese nun named Devasará, accompanied by ten nuns from India. It is not known whether she was successful in her attempt to organize the convent system and of extending the vows of chastity and religious devotion to females.

In the four fundamental truths of religion and in works respecting the solution of disputes and doubts about them, the Chinese do not differ from the Tibetans. From among the large body of books of instruction they selected those which suited them most in respect of their habits and ways of life ; in consequence of which they differ in some external observances from their co-religionists in other countries. They have their own

⁹ The Chankya Lama, the spiritual guide of the Emperors of China, is believed to be an incarnation of Chandana, one of the disciples of Buddha.

peculiarities. Animal food is forbidden according to their custom. They do not ride nor drive such animals as are naturally intended for those purposes. They prefer the smallest kind of mendicant's platter to the larger sizes. The mendicant's raiment is sewn with depressions and loopholes, in the order and arrangement of birds' feathers. In China, in fact, there is but one class of Buddhists, in consequence of which there is no necessity for the Hwashāñ to put marks on their dress, like the Tibetan Lamas of the present day and the Indian Śramaṇas in ancient times, to distinguish the followers of one school from those of another.

According to the established laws of China, yellow is the sign of royalty, red being the colour reserved for the ministers and nobles. The kings of that age, not liking to alter the ancient usage and also to give a distinctive appearance to the monkish dress, prescribed scarlet for the clergy. In China, people consider it a shameful matter to appear in public with naked arms. So they did not choose to adopt the mendicant's raiment as prescribed in the sacred books. Unlike the Tibetan monks who are forbidden to use sleeves, the Chinese Hwashāñ wear them.

In later times when Tibetan Lamas visited China, the question of uniformity in clerical dress arose. The Tibetan Lamas succeeded in preserving their own uniform, owing to the supremacy of the Tartar¹⁰ Emperors over China who tolerated national practices. Up to the present day, those customs remain unchanged. The Chinese Hwashāñ dress in scarlet with sleeved jackets, and the Tibetan Lamas dress themselves in red and yellow, each according to their national practice.

II. TANTRIKISM.

The first of all the Tantriks who came to China from India was Sthavira Śrī Mitra. He diffused the knowledge of Tantrikism by translating the Mahāmayūra and other Dhāraṇīs into the Chinese language. Although contemporaneously with him many other eminent Indian Tantriks came to China, yet very few books on Tantrikism were translated for the public. The sage Kumāra Śrī also did not communicate his Tantrik lore to the general public, but only to one or two of his confidential disciples, so that Tantrikism made very little progress in China. The little progress that it made, was due to Vajra Bodhi, a learned Āchārya of Mālava, and to his pupil Amogha Vajra. These two arrived together in China during the reign of the Emperor Thañ-miñ hūñ. Vajra Bodhi instructed Shi-ye-she-thah-yé and Sherab-thah-ye,¹¹ the two great Hwashāñ, in mysticism. Amogha Vajra performed the ceremony of Vajra Garbha

¹⁰ Mongol.

¹¹ These are Tibetan translations of Chinese names.

Maṇḍala for the benefit of the king who, on account of his devotion to Buddhism, was given the religious name of "Repository of wisdom and knowledge of the triple piṭaka." The astrologers having found that malignant stars were ascendant on the king's destiny, he averted the evil by performing a yajña as prescribed in Buddhist mysticism. Amogha Vajra also propitiated one of the guardians of the world called Vaiśramāṇa and thereby enabled the king to triumph over his enemies. Being pleased with him for his eminent services, the king made him a gift of a piece of land supporting three thousand tenants. He translated seventy-seven principal treatises on Tantrikism. After installing his pupil, Huilāṇ, in his place as the high priest, or Vajrācārya, he retired to the region of peace. Although both these two great Tantriks and their pupils passed for saints and sages, yet Tantrikism did not flourish long but soon declined. During the reign of the Sōō dynasty, Pandit Dānarakṣita, Dharmabhadra and other Indian Pandits visited China, but, being very jealous of their mystic operations being known to the public, they only communicated the mantras to a selected few, under solemn promise of not revealing them to the people. The later Hwashāṇ were taught in only a few of the Tantrik rites, such as the ceremony Amoghapāśa. It was owing to these several restrictions that mysticism made no progress in China.

III. VAIPULYA DARŚANA (MAHĀYĀNA SCHOOL).

The founder of this sect was Thaṇ-saṇ,¹² one of the most famous Buddhist teachers of China. He was a descendant of Tuṇ-kūṇ, the chief minister of Thān kiṇ. He was admitted into the order of monkhood at a very early age. Being of saintly origin, in intelligence, quickness, sharpness of mental faculties and aptitude for learning, he was unrivalled by any boy of his age. While only 11 years old, he committed to memory the Vimala-kīrti sūtra of the Tangur and the Saddharma Puṇḍarīka of Kaḥgyur, both of which he could reproduce from memory. He first mastered the Abhidharma piṭaka and then studied all the volumes of the Kaḥgyur and Tangur collections. At the age of twenty-nine he became acquainted with the Prākṛit language of India, and with a view to travel in that country, secured for himself a passport from the Emperor. Passing through different countries, he reached India, and travelled all over its central and border provinces, such as Kashmir, in all of which he visited numerous places of pilgrimage. He learnt many of the higher and lower yānas from several Indian Pandits. Jetāri, an illustrious sage, was his chief preceptor. At the noble monastery of Nalendra, he learnt the Yogācārya philosophy from one of its most learned professors, Dānta Bhādṛa or Dānta Deva, who was then in his 106th year. Some

¹² Contraction of Thaṇ-Ssen-tsaṇ.

writers identify him with the Achárya Dántasena, the pupil of Vinaya Deva. He met his chief preceptor Jetári a second time, from whom he again received instructions on the Yogáchárya tenets. Besides Jetári and Dántasena, there were other Pandits from whom he received instruction in Buddhist philosophy. He devoted one year and three months to hearing lectures on Maitreya's series of Dharma śástras. In the remaining nine months of the second year, he completed his study of Nyáya (Logic). Since then during a period of three years he studied Indian philosophies of various schools, and vanquished a certain Bráhmañist king in disputation. In refutation of heresies, he wrote a work based on Maháyána principles, called "The Extinguisher of Heresy," containing 6600 ślokas—the excellence of which struck all Indian wise men with wonder.

Again Pandit Haraprabha having written a treatise in refutation of the Yogáchárya tenets, Thañ-Ssan-tsañ also wrote a volume containing 8000 ślokas, called Ekántasiddha, which he presented to his teacher Dánta-bhadra. All these works being written in the Sanskrit language, the Chinese philosopher became eminently famous. The people of Aryavarta gave him the name Maháyána Deva. Some of the Indian Acháryas became his pupils in Buddhist philosophy, and king S'íláditya and Kumára, and the king of Southern India called Dhátubhadra and several other princes treated him with great reverence. Among the numerous Hwashañ teachers who visited India, Thañ-ssan-tsañ was the only one who obtained the high dignity of Pandit and enjoyed the veneration of Indian kings. After an absence of seventeen years of which three were spent in the return journey, he returned to China. The reigning Emperor of China, Chen-ku-an, received him with the greatest demonstration of reverence and respect, and Thañ-Ssan-tsañ presented him with more than 600 volumes of Sanskrit manuscripts written on palmyra leaves, relics of Buddha, images, portraits and different sorts of Indian articles. The king placed him at the head of the monastery of Huñ-fussi, where he employed him, together with other learned Hwashañs, in translating 607 volumes of Buddhism including the Sherchin Ashtasahasrika, chiefly of Maitreya Dharma, also in revising many of the ancient translations. He rebuilt the monastery of Tshi-ain-ssi or in Tibetan Chambaliñ. During that period there were 3,716 religious establishments in China, from all of which he recruited intelligent and well-behaved monks for his new monastery. He also admitted new monks. By these means he was enabled to establish a grand monastic establishment, containing 18,630 monks of which he became the abbot. After the death of Chen-ku-an, his son Ka-utsuñ became Emperor. He greatly patronised Thang-ssan-tsang and his monastery. To every fifty principal monks of Paimiñ-ssi he supplied four servants, namely, three apprentice monks and one neophyte. He made

excellent arrangements for the support of the clergy and appointed the illustrious sage as bishop of the three great monasteries, Paimiñ-ssi,¹³ Huñfussi and Tshi-an-ssi.

Thañ-ssan-tsañ introduced the three orders of priesthood and the five methods of meditation among the clergy, and wrote commentaries on the S'ata-sahasrika, according to the Yogáchárya method, eight treatises on his own system (Vipuláchárya), the Lankávatára sūtra and many other sūtrántas.

He also wrote many śástras in general, such as Nyáya Sangraha, Kriyá Sangraha, &c., &c., and devoted all his attention and energies to diffusing the Maháyána and Yogáchárya schools. He erected a lofty chaitya called Arya Pantha to the south of the monastery of Tshi-ain-ssi, in which he deposited palmleaf MSS. in Sanskrit of Indian scriptures and some sacred relics. He collected one million sacred images from various sources, ransomed 10,000 animal lives, distributed alms to 10,000 men and offered ten millions of lamps to sacred beings. Having worked for a period of nearly forty years to promote the well-being of all living beings, at the age of sixty-five he was emancipated from mundane sufferings. The Vipuláchárya doctrine of Buddhism, taught by him, was obtained by him from his teacher Dánta Bhadra. The following were the illustrious professors whom he followed :

- | | |
|----------------|---------------------|
| 1. Buddha. | 5. Dharma Rakshita. |
| 2. Maitreya. | 6. Ananda. |
| 3. Arya Sanga. | 7. Vinaya Bhadra. |
| 4. Vasu Mitra. | 8. Dánta-sena. |

It was Thañ-ssan-tsañ who first introduced this system of Buddhism into China. The name Thañ-ssan-tsañ means "the knower of the three Piṭakas in the kingdom of Thañ."¹⁴ From one of Thañ-ssan-tsañ's pupils named Khuhu-ki-fuśi, Ti-yan-Shi-han-shehu (teacher of the S'únyatá philosophy) and other learned Hwashañs received instruction, and handed down the system to posterity.

IV. THE SPREAD OF THE S'ÚNYATÁ PHILOSOPHY.

Buddha delivered this philosophy to Manju Ghosha¹⁵ who in turn delivered it to Nágárjuna. The following were the eminent teachers of this philosophy :—

1, Nágárjuna. 2, Arya Deva, also called Níla-netra, on account of his having two spots, as large as the eyes, on both his cheeks. His real name was Chandrakirti. 3, Svámí Prajñá-raśmi. 4, the Chinese sage Yeśe-pál who was miraculously visited by Nágárjuna. 5, Yeśe-Lodoi, from whom

¹³ Various called Pai-massi or Pimañ-ssi.

¹⁴ He was a member of the Thañ royal family.

¹⁵ The same as Manjuśrí.

Ti-chi-taśi learnt it. The last was an eminent scholar who first introduced this philosophy into China and by his piety and excellent accomplishments, promoted the well-being of his countrymen. In the knowledge of the Abhidharma, there was none in China to equal him. In the practice and observance of Vinaya, he is said to have been like a Bodhisattva (saint). He became spiritual guide to the second king of Thengur in Southern China and also to king Wendhi of the Su dynasty. In moral merit he was incomparably great. He erected a monastery called Kw-chhiā-ssi, on mount Thé-an-tha, and another on the hill called Yu-khyu-wan. In these two he founded thirty-six schools, and furnished them with complete copies of the Kahgyur and Tangur. He constructed 800,000 images of Buddha and Bodhisattvas and miniature chaityas, in gold, silver, brass, sandalwood, &c. He ordained 14,000 monks and had 82 principal disciples, all of whom were versed in the Sūnyatā philosophy. He wrote numerous commentaries on the various branches of Buddhism, besides notes on Buddha's precepts delivered at the Mrigarshi grove, the Mahāvaiṣṭya sūtra, Prajñā pāramitā and Mahānirvāṇa tantra. He also introduced the study of a series of books called "The sacrament of offering obeisance by prostrations," "Tun-min," "Tse-yanmin," "Beema," a treatise on mysticism, "Mā-ñe," and "Sūtrānta Vidyā," a complete analysis of Dharma and perfection.

At the request of Kiā Wen-dhi, he wrote forty religious treatises and fifty synopses of the Prajñā-pāramitā, Sadharma Puṇḍarīka, Mūla Prajñā,¹⁶ &c., for the use of students of Buddhism. After labouring for thirty years in endeavouring to propagate the Mādhyamika philosophy of Nāgārjuna, at the beginning of the sixtieth year of his age,¹⁷ in the 17th year of Khai-hua-ñ's reign, he sat absorbed in deep meditation to pass away from this life. He vanquished the "great god" of the Chinese, named Kwan-yun-chhañ,¹⁸ or "the lord of clouds and thunder," and bound him under a solemn oath to defend Buddhism in China. He had thirty-two principal disciples of whom the following were the most remarkable for their learning and purity of life:

- (1) Tañ-an-tsun-che.
- (2) Fu-hu-wá-tsun-che.
- (3) Tuñ-yañ-the-an-tsun-che.
- (4) Cho-shi-lañ-tsun-che.
- (5) Kiā-shi-tsun-che.

Among his spiritual successors, one named Tha-an-thai-tsuñ who spread his system in the southern province of China called Kiā-nan, became

¹⁶ Commentary by Nāgārjuna.

¹⁷ On the 24th of mid-winter month.

¹⁸ Also-called Kwan-lo-yu-yer.

very eminent, while the northern part called Tuñ-yu-an, adopted a different school. Commencing with Ti-che, spiritual father and son, and during the five spiritual successions—*viz.*, (1) Dhi-sin-fu-šun-da-shee, (2) Yun-hu-wa-ti-yan-dá-shee, (3) Shi-an-she-hu-fa-tsañ-dashee, (4) Chhiñ-li-hañ-chhiñ-kwa-shee, and (5) Ku-hi-fuñ-chuñ-meedáshee, the study of "Phal-chhen" was chiefly pursued by Chinese Buddhists. The same practice has come down to the present day and it must be admitted that Phalchhen is the favourite scriptural work of the modern Chinese Buddhists. The fourth chief Hwashañ, named Chhiñ-li-hañ-kwashie also known by the name of Then-kwan, meaning Vimala-dṛiṣṭi or "clear sight" became the abbot of Revo-tse-ña, for which reason he was called Chhiñ-li-hañ-kwashie. He flourished during the reign of Thañ-Miñ-hu-añ, and was well versed in the ten branches of sacred literature as well as in the science of government. Through the religious sanctity and purity of his life, he obtained sainthood. Although he did not visit India, yet he had mastered the Sanskrit language and could fluently converse in it, nor did he require any interpreter to explain Sanskrit works. He had a gigantic frame, nine cubits high; his hands hung to his knees; he possessed forty teeth; his eyes were scarcely seen to wink; and the very sight of his monstrous person struck men with awe and reverence. Throughout the country of China he was famed as a Mahá Paṇḍita, who had no rival. The illustrious Chankya Rinpoche Rolpai dorje, the spiritual guide of the Emperor Chhiñ-luñ, in his hymns on the story of Revo-tse-ña describes this great Paṇḍit as an incarnation of Maitreya Buddha. Other writers believe him to have been an emanation of Manju Ghosha. Among the Chinese, he was the greatest scholar in Phal-chhen, on which subject he wrote three large commentaries. Among his principal works the following are well known:—(1) "Vows," (2) "the Mirror of Dharmat," (3) "the Mirror of Lamp of S'ástras," (4) Bodhisattva Pancha Márga, and other synopses of the triple piṭakas, (5) three hundred detached treatises of S'ástras. It is universally admitted that a greater scholar in Phal-chhen never appeared in China. He lived one hundred and two years, during which time he became spiritual guide to seven kings in succession, and taught the sūtrántas several times. His school is known by the name of "Shi-an-she-hu." Its tenets differ very little from those of Thañ-ssan-tsañs, the difference being in the ways prescribed. The 21st spiritual successor of this great teacher named Khu-an-fu thai-fa-shee became celebrated for his learning. He is said to have been miraculously visited by Maitreya, while going on a pilgrimage to Revotse-ña. Although the school founded by Tishi, and his spiritual son, continued for a long time, yet it wrought very little change in the religious persuasion of north and south China.

V. FIFTH SÁRÁRTHA-VÁDI SCHOOL.

This is the most ancient school of India, derived from Buddha and handed down to his spiritual successors directly. The following is the order of succession in which it has come to posterity :

Buddha, Mahákaśyapa, Ananda, Shanabastri, Madhyamáhna, Upagupta, Dhitika, Arhat Krishṇa, Sudarśana, Vibhaga, Buddhánanta, Buddha Mitra, Panasha, Aśva Ghosha Mashaba, Nágárjuna, Áryadeva, Rahula-bhadra, Sangánanta, Arhat Ghanasa, Kumarata, and Sha-ya-ta.

IX. ANCIENT CHINA, ITS SACRED LITERATURE, PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION AS KNOWN TO THE TIBETANS.¹

The name of this great country in its own language is Sen-te-hu (S'en = God, Tehu = land) or the celestial country. Some authors identify it with the fabulous Continent of Lu-phapa.

The people of Áryavarta call it Mahá China, where Mahá means great and China is a corruption of Tshin. Among the sovereigns of China She'-hu-huñ, king of the province of Tshin, became very powerful. He conquered the neighbouring countries and made his power felt in most of the countries of Asia, so that his name as king of Tshin was known to distant countries of the world. In course of time by continual phonetic change, the name Tshin passed first into Tsin and then into Chin or China, whence the Sanskrit designation Mahá China or Great China. The Tibetans call it Gya-nag, (Gya "extensive" and nag "black") or people of the plains who dress in black clothes : for all the Chinese dress in blue or black. So also the Tibetans gave the appellation of Gya-gar to the people of India, on account of their wearing white dresses. According to the ancient historical records, many religious schools and customs originated in China. Of these, three were the most important, viz., She-hu, Do-hu and Jiñ. The first, She-hu, partakes more of a literary than of a religious character. We shall therefore treat it as literature. According to Sam-bhoṭa, the father of Tibetan literature, letters are the origin of all science

¹ Translated from Dub-thah-selkyi-Mélón. See Vol. I, p. 187, Note 1.

and speech: they are the rudiments of words and their significations: to the formation of letters, religion owes its success: but for the principles of reading and writing, the progress of work, knowledge and science in the world would have come to a standstill.

The first sovereign of China, King Fohi, was a very accomplished prince, possessed of an intellect quick, powerful and discerning. With the aid of his wise minister Tshankye he first invented the art of writing and gave to the letters their form, power and inflection or orthography. He introduced the system of writing on bamboo slates with waxen pencils. His characters were of a rounded shape called Toñ-tse, and it was during the reign of Tshin-shi-húñ that his minister Li-si invented the running hand which were called Li-si after his name. His General Miñthe-yañ invented the brush pen made of hare's hair, and with ink prepared from the smoke of pine-wood painted the characters on silk cloth. Afterwards Tshai-wan of Ñag-rum invented paper. Then, by the invention of a neater sort of characters called khya-i-si (and the cursive called Tsho-u-si) a more convenient and easy method of writing was introduced which gradually displaced the earlier systems. Many works were written which illustrated the simple and childish character of the earlier people. Li-si and Miñthe's systems of slow and quick handwriting were found unfit and rude and so fell into disuse.

The first king Fo-hi wrote a large treatise on the art of divination and astrology called Khyen-shan which is the earliest work of the kind known. He also wrote a book on Ethics, called "The perfect and judicious behaviour." Then appeared the five literary and moral works called by the general designation of Ookyiñs, *viz.*:—Yeekyiñ Shee-kyiñ. Shoo-kyiñ, Lee-kyiñ and Chhun-chho-u. The authorship of Yeekyiñ is attributed to Fohi, the writers of the remaining four being unknown. She-hu is also a well-known term for that science which treats of the regulation of the customs and manners of a nation.

CHAPTER I.

ETHICAL PHILOSOPHY.

The works on this subject are very interesting. The founder of this philosophy was the famous sage Khuñ-fu-tse (in Tibetan Koñ-tse, the latinized Confucius). He was born not long after the birth of Buddha. In the latter period of the Te-hu dynasty, during the reign of Te-hu-wiñ, Khuñ-fu-tse was born in Shan-tu one of the thirteen great divisions of China. His biography is well known every where in China and he is universally believed to have been a particularly sacred personage. The present laws of China and the ethical works, so well suited to the welfare

of all classes of men, are all founded on the Code of laws first drawn up by this great philosopher. From that time to the present day, for a period of more than two thousand and five hundred years, during which time China has witnessed many political changes and revolutions, the downfall and growth of many dynasties, the laws of Khuñ-fu-tse have continued to regulate and govern the manners and customs of the whole community from the Emperor to the meanest subject. So wise and excellent are those laws that they have undergone little change in the course of time. Being the first and wisest preceptor of the monarchs of China, the portrait and name of Khuñ-fu-tse are adored and venerated by every sovereign who succeeds to the celestial throne. This ceremony handed down from generation to generation has got the sanction of antiquity as a heritage to the Emperors of China. The descendants of Khuñ-fu-tse enjoy the second order of the Empire as an hereditary honour, in token of the high regard due to the memory of the wisest man born in China. The Tibetans believe that their celebrated Sroñ-tsan Gampo was an incarnation of Khuñ-fu-tse—one of miraculous birth—in whom was manifest the spirit of Chenressig. Some authors conjecture that Khuñ-fu-tse was the inventor of astrology from the few verses bearing his name and praise, which head almost all the astrological works of China and Tibet. He is also believed by some people to have been the inventor of handicrafts, manufacture, technology &c. It was Khuñ-fu-tse who first taught philosophy and literature in China, but he wrote only a few works on those subjects. His pupils and followers made copious additions to and improvements on his works, which were revised and annotated. The works so annotated and revised which served as guides to the scholars of China, are four in number, *viz.*:—Ta-she-u, Chuñ-yuñ, Loon-yu and Meñ-tse. The outlines of Ta-she-u, drawn up by Khuñ-fu-tse himself, were enlarged by his pupil named Choñ-tse from hints taken from him. The second work Chuñ-yuñ was composed by Tse-se. The third work Loon-yu was attributed to the joint authorship of Tse-le-u Tse kyañ and Tse-sha. The fourth work Meñ-tse derived its name from that of its author. These writers were either Khuñ-fu-tse's pupils or pupils of his pupils. From the time the Te-hu dynasty was founded, literature made rapid strides in China and the number of literary works greatly increased. There grew up during this time, (as afterwards), a number of scholars (not less than 100) who interpreted these works and wrote commentaries on them. The statutes and laws which uphold the government were drawn up during the reign of Hwanku by a learned scholar named She-u-hu, on the basis of Khuñ-fu-tse's works. A few years afterwards, Tse-u-fu-tse, a great philosopher, wrote many original works which, even at the present day, are considered as great authorities and works of reference. Again, there are five other works, called Kañ-chen, which resemble

the Deb-thers or Historical records of Thibet in subject matter; besides they contain many literary and philosophical notices which come more properly under the heading of She-hu, Astrology or the art of Divination.

The earliest written encyclopædia of Astrology is the chief repository of Yeekyiñ, the first of the Uhú series. The art of divination called Porthañ which was brought into Tibet during the reign of the Thañ dynasty was obtained from this great work. In early times, as stated above, there reigned in China the Hun dynasty of three kings and that of Dhi of five kings. During the reign of Fohi (whose name is also written as Hpushy), the first of the Hun kings, there came out from the great river Hé in the province of Henan (modern Ha-nan) a monster called Luñ-ma having the body of a horse and the head of a dragon. On the back of this hideous monster there were eight figures or Mudrás (called Pakwas in Chinese), curiously inscribed. The eight Pakwas being multiplied to 64 by permutation, a work was written under the name of Lyan-shan (chief work). The figures on the back of the monster were called Hé-tho-hu; tho-hu in Chinese meaning "figures" and Hé being the river from which the monster issued. This earlier account of the origin of the Pakwa is called the "First Heavenly System." Afterwards a learned man by the name of Sen-noñ wrote a work on the Porthañ, called Ku-hi-tsañ, based on the first work on divination. It is also said that it was brought down by an eagle from the mountain called Swan-ywan. It is related by some writers that there is a work which was composed from the cry of an eagle. The third monarch of the Hun dynasty named Yee-khyuñ (written as Yihi-shyiñ), by accurate observation of the heavenly bodies and by assigning the distinctive signs of male and female to the five elements, formed the ten fundamentals² (and gave the names of mouse, bull, &c., to the twelve concatenations or *Dendals*³ named the divisions of time, viz.,—years, months and days). All these were represented on a globe,

² The five elements of astrology—

1. Tree, Male and Female.
2. Fire "
3. Earth "
4. Iron "
5. Water "

³ The Sanskrit words corresponding to the 12 Dondals of the Tibetan astrology or causal connection on which the existence of the human soul depends are :—

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|---------------|-----------------|
| 1. Avidyá. | 7. Vidana. |
| 2. Samskára | 8. Rishṇa. |
| 3. Vijnána. | 9. Apádána. |
| 4. Námarúpa. | 10. Bháva. |
| 5. Shadyatna. | 11. Jati. |
| 6. Sparśa. | 12. Jaramarapa. |

called Hun-thyeu-yi constructed by him for the purpose. The clocks (Tse-men chih) and watches (Pe-yo-hu) of modern China are prepared after those illustrations. Moreover, the invention of chariots, boats, forts, ten sorts of musical airs and the use of arms were attributed to him.

The later heavenly system.

The fourth king of the dynasty of Te-hu named Yo-hu-tho-hu-than-shi, was, in the year tree-dragon (the first of the heavenly years according to this system of calculating time), presented with a wonderful tortoise by a man from the south named Yui-shan-she. By carefully observing the figures and marks on the tortoise's shell, which were supposed to express the names of divisions of time, the king improved the former books on astrology and the art of divination. From that year to the *fire-dragon* year of the 12th cycle when the Emperor Chheu-lun ascended the throne, there elapsed 4092 years. There are legends which relate that a subject presented a wonderful tortoise to king Yo-hu, but there is no record of his utilizing the marks on the shell for the purposes of astrology. It is stated that king Shi-hu-yohi obtained a wonderful tortoise of miraculous origin from the River Loo of Hanan, and by reading the astrological symbols and marks known as Pakwa, found on its shell, wrote a large treatise on "divination." He gave the name of Loo-tho-u⁴ to it, from Loo, the river whence the tortoise came out.

The period during which the heaven and earth remained one and undivided,⁵ was known as Nam Na, and the period when they became separated and distinct from each other, as Nam Chhyé. During these two periods, and also previously, the science of Pakwa or astrology and divination is said to have existed in itself, in consequence of which it is considered as ever unchangeable. It is not stated in the Chinese books that the "great tortoise" is the prime cause of all things, as is fabled by Tibetan writers on astrology and the black art, after the above account of the wonderful tortoise of the Chinese from whom undoubtedly they have derived their knowledge of astrology and divination. The following are the verses on which the Tibetans, after the Chinese, base all their knowledge of astrology and of the position of the earth.

⁴ Tho-hu meaning the book of symbols and signs.

⁵ From this it must not be understood that the first work on divination written from the figures on the horse-dragon, was composed before the formation of the Heaven and Earth from chaos. The name Nam Na is used to distinguish its priority to that which immediately followed it.

Tsug-lag-tse-kyi-tsa-va-ni
Ma-há-ser-gyi-rus-bal-dé.
Go-vo Lhōr-dāñ Jud-ma
Chyañ.

Shog-yeshar-la-shog-yen-
nub.

Yau-lag-she-s-po-tsham-zi-
knañ.

Gan-kyalne-pade-ye teng.

Dsam-lín Jig-ten Chhag-
par-dod.

The principal root of astrology.

Is the great-golden tortoise.

The tail to the north and the head above.

The right and left sides lie east and
west.

The limbs extend to the four quarters

On which lies supreme

The world Jambudvīpa and rests.

Wen-wañ father of the first king of the Chigur dynasty who was a saintly personage revived the first work on astrology written by Fohi. The later heavenly system of astrology, based on the symbols and marks on the tortoise's shell, was revised and improved by Che-hu-ween. Altogether there were three great works on astrology written at three different times, the first being Le-an-shan's, the second Ku-hi-tsañ's and the third Wen-wañ's—all well known in China. During the latter period of the Te-hu dynasty, the wicked and stupid king of Chhen-gur in utter ignorance of the worth of astrology, and apprehending danger from the existence of astrological works which in his eyes appeared ominous and fraught with evil, ordered them to be burnt. The first two works were destroyed, but fortunately Wen-wañ's work survived, and it is on this that the modern astrological works of China are chiefly based. Wen-wañ's son, Chi-hu-kyuñ, revised and illustrated his father's work. Khuñ-fu-tse is said to have improved upon the writings of his predecessors, but this is questioned by some writers who doubt if he ever wrote on the subject of astrology and divination. Another painstaking author wrote a small treatise on astrology, based on Che-hu-kyuñ's work. One of Khuñ-fu-tse's pupils is said to have drawn up some astrological formulæ under the name of Shi-chiñ, which were ascribed by some to Khuñ-fu-tse himself. Probably people mistake this book for Khuñ-fu-tse's. Among the ancient writers of China, Fohi Wen-wañ, Chi-hu-kyuñ and Khuñ-fu-tse are famed as four saintly authors. Old men of Tibet believe that the art of divination was first discovered by Manju-śrī, the god of wisdom, on the summit of Revo-tse-ña. Other accounts, stating that it was given to the world by the goddess Namgyalmo (S. Vidyā) and by Padma Sambhava, also obtain credit in Tibet, but are mere fabrications, having no more truth in them than those ascribing the origin of astrology to Buddha."

Medical Works.

The second king of the Huñ dynasty named Yan-dheu-shen-huñ-shi was the first who wrote on medicine. To feel and understand the pulse and to divine human destiny by an intimate knowledge of the fundamental elements were the principal subjects of his works. This latter science⁶ was unknown in India and other countries. The four great classes of Tibetan medical works are said to have been based upon the above named early Chinese works. The five fundamental elements of the Chinese are quite dissimilar to those of the Indians, being tree, fire, earth, iron, and water, while ákáśa has no place. Tree probably supplies the place of wind, but it is not easy to understand how iron could be imagined to be a substitute for ákáśa.

Music.

Yu, minister of King Shun, discovered the use of the five Khin or Sanskrit Tár and the twenty-five tones of music called Shee in Chinese or Sur in Sanskrit. He wrote a book on songs and musical performances called Sho-hu. The Tha-shi dance of Tibet of the present day was based upon this Chinese mode. There also appeared many original works on rhetoric (Alankára Vidyá) in both the periods. The number of figures of speech in the Chinese language is greater than in Tibetan.

Works on history, technology, selection of lands, physiognomy, and prognostication existed from an early age. The number of works on these subjects increased in latter times, but they are not classed as great works.

She-hu or an exposition and vindication of the Confucian philosophy.

With regard to religious faith among the She-hu scholars very few persons possess the "predisposition to piety" (according to Buddhistic principles). The majority of them, content to limit their aims to this life, are careless whether their future after death be one of happiness or damnation, while others look upon this life as the consequences of Karma and Phala. They argue that had it been true, Khuñ-fu-tse and King Fo-hi would have mentioned it in their works, which contain no such account. Both King Fo-hi and Khuñ fu-tse who were distinguished for their profound wisdom and learning were, no doubt, aware of those religious principles, but omitted them in their works, owing to the people of the age not having been so far advanced as to comprehend the triple piṭakas of Dharma. The

⁶ The science of predicting human destiny by marking the pulsation is different from palmistry which was known in India.

works called U-hu jiñ and Ssi-shi-hu, &c., treated of such matters of worldly utility as would meet the requirements of the age they lived in, and would pave the way for the future reception of Buddhism. Fo-hi and Khuñ-fu-tse did not speak a single word against Buddhism like the unprincipled Chárvakas who reject the theory of the transmigration of souls and the inevitable consequence of Karma and Phala. Once, one of Khuñ-fu-tse's pupils asked him what would be the state of man after death. Khuñ-fu-tse answered that he could not say that there was no future existence: that it was so mysterious and unknown, that he could not hazard any opinion on it: but would presently explain all that was conceivable and open to cognition. Again once while he was explaining some metaphysical points respecting the supreme being, one of his pupils, Wuen-fu-hu, questioned him thus, "Sire, if there is a great being as you mention, what and where is he? Is he so and so?" Khuñ-fu-tse having replied in the negative, the pupil asked if he (Khuñ-fu-tse himself) was not that being; "No, how could I be like that supreme being?" replied Khuñ-fu-tse. "If so" retorted the pupil, "where must he be?" Khuñ-fu-tse said, "such a being is born in the western quarter" (by which he evidently meant Buddha). In the works of these two personages there are some mysterious passages which appear like the aphorisms of Buddhism, capable of a higher signification than the mere earthly objects they are taken to mean. The text of Yee-kyiñ in some respects resembles the Tantrik philosophy of the Buddhists, as has been explained by the most learned Lama Chan-kya Rolpai Dorje. During the supremacy of the Jiñ dynasty, two eminent Chinese scholars named Hwa Shañ Fo-shen and Dhu-hu-min, wrote commentaries on both She-hu and Dohu, in which they pointed out many striking resemblances to the theories of Buddhism. In a later work called "The History of the rise and progress of religion (or Chhoiñ)" being an exposition of the works of the great She-hu teacher Khuñ-fu-tse, it is found that his teachings were akin to those of Buddhism. Khung-fu-tse's works avowedly treat on ethics and on public utility for the benefit both of individuals and of nations, but essentially they point to saintly wysa. Those who have studied Buddhism critically, can easily perceive the similarity between Khuñ-fu-tse's teaching and that of Buddha, but the general readers of Khuñ-fu-tse may not form any sound judgment in this respect. Of the classes which go by the name of U-hu-chiñ, five *viz.*, Yin, Yee, Lee, Kyi, and Sheen, are the principal works. In the Chinese language they are called U-hu-chhañ or one's own doctrine, behaviour or morality. The first, Yin, inculcates mild and gentle behaviour; the 2nd, Yee, treats of affection, cheerfulness, and good humour; the 3rd, Lee, of manners and customs; the 4th, of wisdom; the 5th, of a calm and firm mind. The four well known ethical works called Ssi-she-hu are mere

applications of these five subjects. Those who in China carefully master these five subjects are regarded as sages, those who can practise them, as saints.

Origin of Heaven, Earth and Men according to the "Ye-kyin".

In the beginning, before the formation of Heaven and Earth there existed nothing but "Hun tuñ" or void, which evolved of itself and was in a state of chaotic agitation from eternity, until it fell into utter confusion and disorder. In this state of chaos, the order, distinction, cognition, classification and nomenclature of things were unknown. The Chinese account bears a striking resemblance to the account as to the origin of the world in all Tibetan works on mysticism that in the beginning there existed nothing except void from which the world arose. In that chaotic state there was the virtue of "The-ji" that is, the supreme nature, matter and self-existent energy. Just as we have the innate power of distinguishing different things in ourselves, so the primeval chaos possessed the virtue of giving rise to distinct existences. From its internal agitation, it produced first of all Namba (species), and nature, which were like male and female. Again these being endowed with a virtue like the germination of the seed by the union of the male and female elements, divided themselves into the "Tsha-shiñ," *i. e.*, the fourfold distinction into (1) great male, (2) little male, (3) great female and (4) little female. Afterwards from the union of those two species sprung the Pa-kwa or Tibetan Parkha and Choo-guñ or the nine mansions with forty-five gods residing in them. Thereafter from the virtue of these two, light and clearness came forth. All light substances flew upwards from the ocean of chaos, the thin and attenuated things resting on the surface. When this separation took place the upper region or Heaven (or Thain) was produced. This was called the age of the formation of Heaven (Nam Ńama). All heavy (Sanskrit guru), thick, unclean and ponderous substances sank to the bottom and formed the Earth called Tee. This is called the age of the Earth's closing. When Heaven and Earth were produced, the shining lustre of the former radiated from above and the bright effulgence of the latter rose upwards. These two, united together, produced "Man." This age was called the period of the formation of Man. Heaven, Earth and Man are possessed of three virtues or potential energies and three aims (designs). In works on mysticism a similar description is given. Heaven is said to have been anciently the father and Earth the mother. These two meeting together produced a sound, whence emanated Man. The Tibetan "Nam" or Chinese "Thain" means both Heaven and potential Energy. Tibetan "Sa" or Chinese "Tee" meaning Earth is purely matter that has productive powers.

Parkha or Pakwa or Mudrá Symbols.

Tibetan	me	sa	chag	namkha	chhu	ri	shiñ	loñ
Chinese	li	khon	ta	khin	kham	kin	sin	son
English	fire	earth	iron	sky	water	hill	tree	wind.

Chinese Chooquá or Tibetan Mevagu. English nine mansions of the 45 gods.

Tibetan	chikar	ñinag	sum	thiñ	shijuñ	ñaser	tugkar	dunmar	gyatkar	gumar
English	white	black	blue	green	yellow	white	red	white	red.	red.
No. of Mansions	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	

Again, the blue sky (or the middle illuminated atmosphere), and the Earth are both called the world. Vulgar people say that the Heaven is of dark blue colour and the Earth four-sided. According to this system only nine heavens are mentioned without a word about their disposition. The Tibetans alone hold that there are nine strata of earth, one above another and nine heavens in regular succession. The great period counted from the beginning of the formation of Heaven, Earth and Man till their destruction is called Yi-yvan (*Ævum*). The measure of time in one Yi-yvan is equal to 129,600 human years of the Hindu system or "kalpa." After the destruction of Heaven, Earth and Man, Húntúñ and Theji will be convulsed to form a second chaos, from which there will be a renewed formation of the world.

Man is like the effulgence or the essence of all conglomerate matter. The Chinese do not recognize the theory of the four ways of birth, *viz.*, from the egg and the womb and the manner of production of insects and plants. According to them, man was not born in the beginning but formed after the manner above described. The earliest writers do not appear to hold that the Heaven, formed after the dissolution of Chaos, possessed any visible appearance or magnitude, nor do they explain what will be the state of man after death. They neither enumerate the six classes of living beings, nor describe how they were produced. Latterly an eminent Chinese writer called Chou-tse, who was acquainted with the works of the Buddhists wrote as follows:—After death, those portions of the mind and soul or the spiritual effulgence, obtained from the Father consisting of the Three Prāṇas (called Sāñhaon) fly towards the skies and became absorbed in S'en (divinity), while the six parts (consisting of spiritual emanations) obtained from the mother (Lehu-pho) go down towards the earth, and mix with the spirit called "ku-hi" or the devil. All the Chinese authors attributed the happiness and sufferings of this world to The-han (Thain) or Heaven. The same theory prevails now all over China, the Heaven of the Chinese bearing some resemblance to the idea of the Supreme Being. According to them, pigs, sheep and other animals (as well as herbs and vegetables) being designed for human

consumption by The-han, there is no harm in killing them. The Chinese adore many gods endowed with a visible shape among whom Yoob-Hwañ is well known. They also worship a multitude of devils. They pay homage to dead bodies and, under a belief that the *manes* of the dead, though in Hades, can enjoy earthly pleasures, offer them meats and other edibles. Some of their customs are formed by affinity with those of their neighbours the Lalos and To-u-se. There are also some customs which are evidently borrowed from the Buddhist creed.

Khuñ-fu-tse's teaching compared with the doctrines of Buddhism.

Khuñ-fu-tse in his work on the fundamental formulæ called Ta-she-hu while describing the manners and attributes of a "Teacher" says, that liberal and enlightened accomplishments depend much upon clear judgment and understanding. The doing of good and contributing to ennoble others depend first on one's own goodness and excellencies. After the acquirement of knowledge it should be retained, when it is comprehended it should be practised. When it is practised it will produce happiness, when it has imparted happiness, it can be utilized in teaching others, when it is communicated to others, knowledge is acquired. Thus by progressing further and further from the origin or beginning of learning, the ultimate object can be obtained. It is easy to understand the apparent meaning of his words which generally relate to the enumeration of moral virtues pertaining to this life, but a mystic and deeper meaning pervades them all, which may be interpreted thus:—By enlightened knowledge he meant, the clear knowing of what the true and false ways (of religion) are, which he exhaustively illustrated in his chapter on the "duties of a Teacher." By ennobling others and leading them to good &c. he meant that, in order to be able to do good to all animate beings and to lead them to the real and true end of existence, one must first himself arrive at perfection. When he has first become good, others will follow him. Having himself obtained happiness, he will be able to conduct others to happiness, who have not already obtained it. After reaching perfection himself and bringing others to it, right discrimination is attained when he will know the means of emancipating himself from transitory existence. Thus by progressing further and further he will see the beginning and end of all knowledge. From this, it is evident that Khuñ-fu-tse's doctrines were akin to those of the omniscient Buddha. The maxim, "First mature yourself and after you have done so, try to mature others" and others of a like nature correspond with those contained in the Maháyána philosophies. Although the name of Buddha was unknown to Khuñ-fu-tse, yet in saying "gone to the extreme limit of knowledge" he must have meant an exalted state of being, closely resembling that of Buddha.

Thus he approached very near to Buddhism in that twilight of civilization. The Chinese scholars who, by critically studying Khuñ-fu-tse's works became learned, are given the title of "Shyan-shen." For having mastered the ancient classics, they are called wise men. Above all, when they have mastered the above-mentioned five classical works and can elaborately elucidate the formulæ and riddles, they are styled Sho-hu-tsha or Chwañ-ywen. Thus by studying the classics they become learned, and then by acquiring a knowledge of the laws of their country, they become possessed of a knowledge of things. Having acquired both kinds of knowledge, they discharge the duties of the administration of their country. Such learning qualifies them for preferment in the government of their country. Learning alone opens to them the chances of reaching the highest offices in the land including those of Governor and Minister of State. It is such literary distinctions that raise men in China to rank and position in utter disregard of birth or riches. All public offices in China are in fact open to competition.

Among the theological distinctions of China the three highest are—

Shyan-shen equivalent to Tib. Ge-she = neophyte.

Sho-hu-tshahi ,, Tib. Kahchu = monk who has observed the 10 Command-

Chwañ-ywan ,, Tib. Rabchyam = superior monk. [monts.

As by proficiency in classical studies men are raised to governorships in China, so in Tibet scholars of sacred literature are placed at the head of all religious institutions as prefects and high priests. But now-a-days the number of such erudite scholars is very small both in China and in Tibet. There are some Khuñ-fu-tse saints who being profoundly read in the great classical works of China, regardless of high preferment in government service, of commercial emoluments and of the pleasures and allurements of a worldly life, betake themselves to ascetism and a life of seclusion in caverns of hills or in the solitudes of the wilderness. They take such students as are willing to accompany them, and do not care if they get none. These men are like Buddhist hermits who pass their days in solitude, devoting their lives to study, meditation, and asceticism, but it must be admitted that there are few such in both countries. It appears from his writings that Khuñ-fu-tse had veneration for Buddha although Buddhism was not in existence in his age. In his works he neither remarked as in prophecy that Buddhism was good or bad. Chau-fu-tse, another writer of fame, evidently had some knowledge of Buddhism. In his writings he speaks in commendation of it rather than with any dislike. Subsequently one Cho-u-tse wrote blasphemously of Buddha. He was happy in his discussions on other matters but not in those on Buddha. He argued thus:—As the prosperity and happiness of a nation arise from the king's virtue, it is the king's first and

prime duty to treat his subjects kindly. One's own body being derived from his parents, they are his great benefactors. Among his subjects those who are intelligent, industrious, learned, able and powerful should help their king in the administration of the State and in war. The people generally should in return help him with tribute, revenue and presents. Again it will be the duty of all men to respect their parents besides supporting them and ministering to their wants; and after their death to honour and pay homage to their manes and bones.—Thus his moral sayings are excellent, but at the end he rushes into blaming Buddha:—“Afterwards one S'ákya Muni, unmindful of his duties towards his king and parents and forgetful of their kindness, quitted his home and preached a religion of which selfishness is the leading feature, inasmuch as it enjoins on each man separation from the world and care for only his own food and clothing. This religion being introduced into China during the reign of the Emperor Hwan-miñ-yun-phiñ, many a family became destitute and extinct. The excellent creed of ancient times faded away as the new one progressed.” But, indeed, the religion of Buddha does not specify one's duties towards his parents and the king, but aims at a wider good,—the good and well being of all living beings of the world by freeing them from miseries and sorrows not only of this present life but also of all transitory existences. The aim of Buddhism is to know how to lead all living beings from misery and grief to a state of endless beatitude. So that there is a vast difference between the doctrines of Cho-u-tse and those of Buddha, the aim of the former being as small as the point of a needle, while that of the latter is as wide as the immeasurable Heavens. The writings of Cho-u-tse with the exception of some vilifying expressions towards Buddhism contains not a word of argument and refutation. They only contain some erroneous views besides some commonplace principles. Since the introduction of Buddhism into China to the present day all the monarchs, with the exception of one or two, were devoted followers of the Buddhist faith in consequence of which such insane observations as those of Cho-u-tse and other profane writers, have been as ineffectual in their aims as echoes returned by rocks. Nowadays there are some among the vulgar classes who obstinately follow these stupid writers who can show no reasons but bark like old dogs.

CHAPTER II.

TO-U-SE OR THE BON (PON) RELIGION OF CHINA.

The chief god or teacher of this most ancient religion of China was Lo-u-kyun. He is both god and man. As a god he is called by the name "Thai-shań Lo-u-kyun" which in Tibetan means the chief lord of goodness. He is said to have appeared when, according to the Chinese account, Heaven and Earth were first formed. Some writers identify him with the god Brahmá, which conjecture is accepted by many. In the beginning of the formation of the world the great Brahmá formed the superb mansion of the gods and thereafter the Earth, which accounts agree with those given of Thai-shań Lo-u-kyun as well as with the signification of his name "Brahmá built the world." Lo-u-kyun from that period to modern times is said to have sent forth 81 emanations among which the great teacher Buddha is counted as one, just as the Brahmanists reckon him (Buddha as one of the Avatárs of Vishnu. The human Lo-u-kyun was an incarnation of the divine Thai-shań Lo-u-kyun. He is believed to have been contemporary with Khuń-fu-tse. After a stay of 82 years within his mother's womb he was born when all his hair had turned grey, for which reason he was called by the nickname Lo-u-tse or the grey-haired old man. His followers addressed him by the name "Lo-u-kyun" the honorific equivalent for Lo-u-tse. Having obtained 72 chapters of what are called "heavenly scriptures," from a certain cavern of a hill, he became a religious teacher and preached the religion called "To-u-se." The famous Chankya Rinpoche Rolpai dorje observed that this Lo-u-kyun is identical with S'en-rab of the Tibetan Bonpo⁷. In Chinese a sage is called Shyan-sheń of which the first syllable *shyan* by the phonetic laws of the Tibetan has been changed into *shyen*, whence "*sen*"; *seń* means *rab* or "excellent." Ywon-shi-then-tsun another celebrated teacher of the To-u-se religion who appeared after the founder, is also considered as one of the 81 incarnations of Lo-u-kyun. The pith of To-u-se doctrine as originating from Thai-shań Lo-u-kyun is similar to that of the religion of the god Brahmá. The To-u-se religion obtained its greatest diffusion under two of Lo-u-kyun's incarnation called Lo-u-tse and Ywon-shi-then-tsun.

To-u-se religious theories.

The supreme being is immaterial (Arúpa), shapeless and invisible. He is self-created and matchless and most noble.⁸ In the abridged To-u-se scripture there are mentioned many gods possessing a shape, being the

⁷ [See Vol. I, p. 187; also *ibidem*, p. 195, note 5. Ed.]

⁸ The writer did not see the chief of the To-u-se scriptures for which reason he could not describe what views they had respecting the state of the soul and transmigration and emancipation.

presiding deities of the five great mountains of China, of the four great rivers and of wind, rain and lightning, besides many powerful demons, for whom several ceremonies are prescribed. At the time of propitiation (ascetic performances) the To-u-se hermit is required to purify himself by washing his body, mouth and tongue, before beginning the mantras. Purification of the body by ablution is the principal feature of the religious rites of the To-u-ses. Having prepared for the ceremony by careful ablution &c., the devotee sits and regulates the exhaling and inhaling of his breath. He then extols and praises his own rambling "spirit," abstracts his mind, absorbs himself in deep meditation and chants the sacred mantras. In this way there grew eight saints who obtained the power of working miracles according to their will. They are called Pa-dud-shyan-shiñ or the eight saints. Another saint named Tañ thwen-shi by skill in mysticism subdued many demons and evil spirits, all of whom he bound by solemn oaths to guard the Imperial Palace of Pekin. These demi-gods and demons even at the present day are found to stand sentry round it as of old. The descendants of Tañ-thwen when they approach the palace walls, are politely received by these spirit sentinels. There are also accounts of many who acquired superhuman powers such as that of performing miracles and illusions. There are mantras and incantations for performance of the lowest classes of samádhi. But notwithstanding all these, there is not found in their scriptures the true way of emancipation which can be obtained in Buddhism alone. Witchcraft, rites and ceremonies of mysticism and concatenation of time and circumstance, besides those which are used by gods and sages in the way of Tantrikism are numerous among the To-u-ses. Among them there are two classes, the lay-people and the monks. The latter take vows of piety and discipline which they scrupulously observe.

An Episode.

During the reign of the great Han, a heretical Pandit of Singala-dvīpa called Mahá Bráhmaṇa arrived in China. He was warmly received by the king Yo-hu-chhañ, whom he exhorted to introduce his doctrine all over China. During this time the celebrated sage Hwashañ Dha-hu, who was versed in the Vedas of the Tīrthikas was present. He held long discourses in most of the heretical Sástras of the Tīrthikas with the Singalese Pandit. The controversy was conducted in the Sanskrit language in which the Chinese sage debated with fluency and facility. The heretical Pandit was defeated, which he publicly acknowledged by prostrating himself before the learned Hwashañ. The king greatly rejoiced at the Hwashañ's triumph over the Singalese who was ignominiously expelled from the country. It was for this reason that Brahmanical doctrines obtained no footing in China. They are not known there even at the present day.

CHAPTER III.

HO-U-SE OR HOI-HOI RELIGION OF CHINA.⁹

During the reign of the Thañ dynasty in one of the wars, a large army was brought to China from the country of Tho-kar (Sita or Turkistan) which, unable to return to their homes, settled in China. Their descendants gradually multiplied and formed a large tribe who were known by the appellation of Housi or Hoi-Hoi. Again, the great warrior Jengis Khán after conquering the countries in the West when returning home brought with him a man of the country of Siyang which is an Island. This man, being versed in a kind of religion in which The-yau-nu the lord of Heaven was adored by all, taught the principles of the Hoi-Hoi which became their adopted religion. Their descendants followed this religion and much of the Chinese religion came to be mixed with it, but the Chinese though dwelling with them did not become a whit connected with them in their religion and manners.

Religious theories of the Hoi-Hoi people.

They believe that all happiness and misery, good and evil, are the doing of The-han. The god The-han dwells in Heaven and in all things. The Hoi-Hoi people will never act contrary to the word of The-han. They do not take refuge with any worldly gods nor worship nor bow down before them. The souls of all the dead are collected by The-han, who ordains their second existence. They are to be re-born when this world will be re-created by him after destruction, and within this interval the souls of the dead will remain mixed with the void space of Heaven. Some among them also believe that men are born very often, and that all their senses and faculties are lost at each break of existence. They send the spirits of all animals killed by those who belong to their faith to The-han who takes charge of them. The spirits of those that are killed by others, who are not Hoi-Hoi are damned. A Hoi-Hoi will not eat the flesh of an animal that has been slain by outsiders. If they remain unclean The-han becomes displeased. It is therefore of great importance to them to wash and keep aloof from unholy things. Besides these they have no knowledge of the transitory state of existence, the misery, and the confinement and emancipation, of the soul. They possess not the learning of the Tírhikas, or the materialists, but resemble the Yavanas (Lalos). These wicked people certainly turn into pigs after their death for which reason they do not touch pork, the touch of which brings defilement, and the eating of which destroys their intellect and understanding.

⁹ This is a form of Muhammadanism.

X.—LIFE AND LEGEND OF NÁGÁRJUNA.¹

When the dynasty of Aśoka waned and gave place to that of the illustrious Chandras, Nágárjuna was born in Central India destined to play an important part in the religious history of Buddhism. According to the Tibetan historians who wrote on the authority of Indian historians, he was born a century before Chandra Gupta's accession to the throne of Magada. But to conform his age to the conjectural chronology of the occidental orientalists one would be required to bring that date more than a century later than Alexander's invasion of India. Nágárjuna's age must remain a positive uncertainty as long as we cannot get hold of the historical works of the Indian authors of the Buddhistic period. I am sanguine of being able to bring to light much about Buddhistic history from the works about Nágárjuna and other Indian philosophers. For the present I will only mention certain legendary accounts of Nágárjuna which I have gathered from detached sources.

A rich Bráhmán of the Vidarbha country to whom no son had been born for many years, once saw in a vision, that if he gave alms to, and entertained one hundred Bráhmans, he could get a son. Accordingly he made offerings and prayers to the gods and entertained one hundred Bráhmans. After ten months his wife gave birth to a son. The rich man invited learned astrologers to predict the fortune of his child, but they found that it would not live more than a week. In all other respects the child was calculated to be fortunate. In consequence of this sad intelligence, the minds of the parents were overwhelmed with extreme sorrow, and in their deep anxiety they urged the astrologers to discover some remedy to save the child. The astrologers assured them that if they observed some religious ceremonies and paid money for virtue's sake, read religious books, and entertained one hundred Bráhmans, the child would live seven months, and if they entertained one hundred Bhikshus, it would live seven years, beyond which its life could not be prolonged by any means whatever. They accordingly underwent all sorts of ceremonies and observances calculated to prolong the child's life. When the seventh year was about to expire the parents were overwhelmed with grief.

To avoid the painful sight of their son's predicted death, they caused him to be removed to a certain solitary place in company with a few retainers. As the boy was passing his mournful days, one day the Mahábodhisattva Avalokiteśwar Khasharpaṇa visited him in disguise and advised him to go to the great monastery of Nálendra in Magadha as the surest means of escaping from the hands of death. He accordingly repaired to that famous Vihára and arriving at the gate recited some gáthás. During that time

¹ The great Buddhist reformer of ancient India and founder of the Mádhyamika Philosophy.

the great sage Śrī Saraha Bhadra was the high priest of Nālandra. Hearing the gāthā the sage sent for the boy who was accordingly brought to his presence. Saraha asked him who he was and what brought him there, on which the boy gave a faithful account of his life and the melancholy aspect which overhung his fate and which he was painfully anxious to escape. The sage advised him to enter the holy order of monks, which act alone could deliver him from the hand of death. The boy took the vows of monkhood. Saraha, then invited him to the worship and service of Buddha Aparimita Ayusha and secured him his blessings. He required the boy to recite holy mantras and gāthas in honour of that Buddha from sunrise to sunset, within which time the fatal moment was predicted to arrive. The boy remained engaged in reading sacred books and reciting gāthas without falling asleep. The fatal moment passed. The messenger of death did not arrive or could not seize his victim. This happy news was conveyed to his parents whose hearts now overflowed with joy. The great high-priest Saraha then ordained him a Bhikshu of the Nālandra Vihāra. Here he prosecuted his religious studies under the tuition of that great sage. After a few years service he obtained the subordinate office of head steward of the congregation. During the first part of the tenure of office, Nāgārjuna is said to have propitiated the goddess Chandikā, by whose agency he succeeded in providing the great body of priests with the necessities of life. The propitiation took some time, after which the goddess presented herself before him in obedience to his call. Enslaved as it were by the force of the propitiatory rites of Nāgārjuna, she submissively asked if she was to carry him to heaven. So saying she prepared to transport him thither. The sage not caring for his own happiness and ever mindful of his duties, exclaimed, "Bold goddess, I will not go to the celestial regions, I called you to help me in the propagation of Dharma on this earth." He then built a lofty stone temple in honour of Bodhisattva Manju Śrī, in the court of which he pitched a thick pointed wooden club to fix the goddess, as it were, to her appointed terrestrial duties by the spell of mystic charms. He then addressed the goddess Chandikā,—“O thou divine nymph, I bid thee to look to the supply of provisions for the great congregation. Thou shalt not leave thy post till this club becomes reduced to dust.” Chandikā accordingly, in the guise of a beautiful damsel began her homely work. During her temporary residence within the environs of the monastery, the chief cook of the congregation was enchanted with her personal charms. He spared no pains or means to win her favour, with the sensual object of enjoying her person. The maiden refused his addresses several times, but at the end consented on the condition that he should reduce the said club to dust. The deluded cook not knowing the secret connected with the club, instantly burnt it to ashes. The maiden now set free from this

bounden duty assumed her celestial shape radiant in angelic glory that was too strong for mortal eyes to bear, and ascended to her ethereal home, leaving the disappointed lover to stare at her with surprise. No sooner did this affair take place than Nágárjuna by dint of his divine eyes came to know of it. In order to retrieve the loss, he visited the courts of kings, princes, and nobles of Magadha and other Buddhist countries, from whom he obtained annuities and donations for the support of the great body of monks at Nálendra. He constructed a gigantic image of Mahákála whom he charged with the defence of his religion. During the latter part of his office the country was visited by a famine in consequence of which the monks fell into great distress. The manager became very thoughtful about the terrible effects of the natural calamity. Distress and scarcity compelled the congregation more keenly to feel the necessity of money. The monks now determined to devise some means of acquiring treasures for the support of the famished congregation, and Nágárjuna accordingly started on an expedition to visit an island in the great ocean where lived a great saint well versed in the art of alchemy. As the sea could not be crossed by any earthly means, he, by dint of his divine learning, got two leaves of an enchanted tree, by means of which he crossed the ocean and miraculously visited the island and presented himself before the sage who was greatly surprised to see a human being arrived at his abode deemed inaccessible to mortal beings. The sage earnestly inquired how he succeeded in achieving this wonder. Nágárjuna replied respectfully stating to him the reasons of his visit and the circumstances that brought him thither. He also showed him one of the enchanted leaves, concealing the other in his mendicant's platter. He begged him to teach him the art of turning metals into gold. The sage consented to the proposal, but not liking to let the wonderful art be known in Jambudvîpa, he determined to detain him for ever in the island by depriving him of the enchanted leaf. To effect this, he said that he could teach the art of alchemy provided Nágárjuna consented to part with his leaf. Nágárjuna consented, and was taught the art. When it was fully mastered he flew towards the Indian Continent by the help of the remaining leaf. Returning to Nálendra, by means of his easily acquired wealth he supported the whole body of monks. By his religious practices he obtained siddhi (perfection). He refuted the theories of Sankarácárya and imparted religious instruction to the monks of Nálendra. The Nágas used to attend his sermons in the shape of young boys. They were so much interested in his teaching that they invited him to their abode where he spent three months. They entreated him to settle permanently in Nága land (the nether world) which offer he declined on the ground of his being required to preach the sacred religion in Jambudvîpa, and erect religious edifices for the good of living

beings. At the time of his departure he promised to return there some time in future. He returned to Nálendra loaded with costly presents and gems of inestimable value and also with the religious volume called *Nāgasahasrikā*. It was for this connection with the Nāgas that he obtained the name of Nágárjuna.

In the country of Rádha he erected many chapels and chaityas. On his way to Uttarakuru, in the city of Salama or Salamana, he met with a boy named Jetaka, by examining the marks of whose palms, he predicted that the boy would one day become a king. Arrived in Uttarakuru he went to bathe in a river after placing his raiments on a tree. As he was making his ablutions he saw a native taking his clothes away, at which he stopped him begging him not to remove his raiments. The native greatly wondered that Nágárjuna should claim his clothes. For in Uttarakuru there is no distinction of individual property. There all property is common. In Uttarakuru Nágárjuna stayed for three months and instructed the people in the sacred religion. On his return he found that the boy Jetaka had become a king as he had predicted. Jetaka, having great faith in his saintly character, presented him with costly treasures. Nágárjuna returned to his country and erected many chaityas and temples, composed many works on science, medicine, astronomy and alchemy. After the death of Saraha Bhadra, the office of high priest fell upon Nágárjuna which he managed with great ability and indefatigable zeal. He matured the *Mádhyaṃika* philosophy which was only conceived by his illustrious teacher Saraha.

Although he was the head of the now wide-spreading faction, of the *Maháyána* school, yet he did not fail to exert himself for the well-being of the *Srávakas* or the followers of the *Hínayána* school, by which name the *Srávakas* henceforth came to be distinguished. They equally enjoyed the bounties of his saintly character. He established discipline among his own congregation by expelling eight thousand monks whose character, nay purity of morals, was open to suspicion. By these acts he became the recognized head of the whole Buddhist church. About this time the germ of a third schism was manifested among his followers which eventually developed itself as the *Yogáchárya* school.

During the presidency of Nágárjuna, *Vajrásana* (Buddha Gayá) was the head quarter of the *Srávakas* or the followers of the *Hínayána* (little vehicle) school, but having fallen into decay, Nálendra in wealth and splendour eclipsed the seat of Buddha's hermitage. Once a wild elephant was found to damage the sacred Bodhi-druma (tree of wisdom), when Nágárjuna caused two stone pillars to be erected for its support. This expedient answered well for several years, when, on the repetition of a similar injury, Nágárjuna surrounded the great temple *Mahágandhola* or the mansion of

fragrance with a stone railing which he furnished with Vajragaváksha or the precious niches, and outside of which he erected 108 smaller chapels. He also surrounded the great shrine of Śrīdhānyakataka with railings.

Again, there having occurred an encroachment of the river Nairanjana on the east of Vajrásana which threatened the safety of the most holy spot, Nágárjuna constructed seven huge images of Buddha hewn from rocks, and placed them facing the river in order to make the river, out of fear, change its devastating course. During this period, Manja king of Oṭisha (Orisha) with one thousand of his subjects embraced Buddhism. In the west, in the country of Malva in the city of Dhára, king Bhojadeva with many hundreds of his subjects embraced Buddhism. These conversions are attributed to the saintly influence of Nágárjuna who wrote many volumes on the Mādhyamika philosophy, such as Múla Jñána, sixth assemblage of Vidyá, Dharma dhátu strotra, Sútra sangraha, &c. He erected many viháras in Pratápeśa, Oṭisha, Bangula, and the country of Ikshuvardhana. In the latter part of his life Nágárjuna visited Dakshiṇa (Southern India), where he did many things for the preservation of the Southern congregation (of Buddhists). In the country of Dráviḍa there lived two Bráhmans of the name of Madhu and Supramadhu, the fame of whose opulence had startled even the kings and princes of the day. They held a series of discussions with Nágárjuna on the four Vedas and the eighteen sciences of the Bráhmans, in all of which they found themselves infinitely inferior to the Buddhist disputants. At the end they remarked that they really wondered how a Śramaṇa of Śakya Siṃha could possess such profound knowledge in the Vedas and Śástras. Nágárjuna replied—It was very easy to master the Brahmanical Śástras, but the sacred Dharma was too profound to be comprehended. He at last succeeded in converting them to Buddhism. Madhu having propitiated the goddess Sarasvati, acquired great knowledge in the sacred literature of the Bráhmans and Buddhists; Supramadhu by propitiating Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth, obtained immense wealth with which he fed the Buddhist congregation. The former prepared many copies of Prajñá Páramitá. One hundred and fifty monks conducted religious service in their chapels. Thus the great teacher Nágárjuna being eminently versed in all the classes of sciences and the Śástras, filled Jambudvīpa with trophies of his pious deeds. His assiduity in asceticism, erudition in science, faith in Dharma, profundity in Yoga, acuteness in disputation, liberality in giving alms, constructing shrines and chaityas, and furnishing of food to the congregations were all incomparable. He is given the appellation of a second Buddha; for he consolidated what Buddha had only commenced.

Nágárjuna is said to have been a great friend of king De-chye (Sankara) of Southern India, whom he had converted to Buddhism. Both the friends

took vows of meeting a common lot, *i. e.*, to live and die together. Nágárjuna being a saint, no messenger of death ever ventured to approach him. The friends therefore attained to unusual longevity, during which time the king witnessed successively the death of his many wives, children and grandchildren. In his old age the king got a son who alone fortunately survived him. Once the mother of this prince (named in Tibetan Zon-ñu-den-chye, *i. e.*, "the throat-cutting young prince") prepared a handsome robe which she desired him to wear. The prince did not use it, saying, that he would use the robe when he became a king. The mother, with a deep sigh, exclaimed—"Son, how vain is that hope! Thinkest thou, my darling, that the king thy father will ever die. He has obtained immunity from death, which awaits all mortal beings but himself." The prince replied,—“Mother, must I not rule as a king since I am born as a prince? Live or die, I shall be a king.” Seeing the son's resolution, the mother revealed to him the secret of her husband's death and said,—“Go and beg Nágárjuna's head, and that shall quicken thy succession to the throne.” The prince accordingly went off at once in search of Nágárjuna and found him on the top of Śríparvata. Approaching the venerable Śramaṇa, he asked him to present him with his head. Nágárjuna, knowing what brought him there, consented.

The prince tried several strokes of his sword to cut the saint's throat, but in vain. Nágárjuna, seeing the ignorance of the prince, shewed him the secret which could effect the cutting off of his head, by saying,—“Prince, hundreds of such swords would not sever my head from the body, but go and bring that *kuśa* grass, which alone will effect it.” In one of his former births Nágárjuna is said to have killed a worm by cutting its throat with a *kuśa* grass. On account of the inevitable consequences of Karma in this life, that very worm was born as the prince who severed his head from his trunk with the *kuśa* grass. At the time of death Nágárjuna told the prince that he would rise again in a future time and his head would again be one with his body. As the prince was carrying off the head, it was snatched away by a Yaksha who threw it to a distance of five miles, where the saint's remains turned to stone. It is mentioned in the Book of Prophecies that the head is now in the course of drawing every day nearer the trunk to effect its junction. Verily it may be said of Nágárjuna that when the junction takes place, the city of Gayá will be blown up by Gayásura or the demon of Gayá. It is said that Nágárjuna will again appear in India, and live one hundred years, to teach the sacred Dharma to men and gods.

XI.—DETACHED NOTICES OF THE DIFFERENT BUDDHIST SCHOOLS OF TIBET.

All the Buddhist Tantras that were translated into Tibetan under the auspices of king Khriroñ-eḍe ḅtsan and his successors till the advent of Pandit Smṛiti into Tibet, were designated *gSañ-sñago sña-ḡgyur* of *rNyiñ mahi-rgyud* or “the anciently translated Tantras.” All the Tantras translated by Rinchhen-ssañpo and the generations of translators who followed him, were called *gSañ-sñags phyi-ḡgyur* or *Sar mahi rgyud*. For this reason it will be evident that the difference of *rNiñ-ma* and *gSarma* schools lies in the Tantras only, while the Sūtras are the same in both.

The Tantras of the *gSarma* school are clearly analysed in the *ḅKaḡ-ḡgyur*, and the original of the *rNiñ-ma* Tantras composed in *Āryāvarta* were rendered into Tibetan purely and faithfully. They are the following :

- (1.) *Rigs pahi-Khu-Vyug.*
- (2.) *Tsal-chhen-dKruḡs-kyi-rgyud.*
- (3.) *Khyuñ-chhen-ḷdiug-vahi-rgyud.*
- (4.) *rDo-la-gser-shun-rgyal mahi-rgyud.*
- (5.) *Mi-nule-rgyal-mtshan-gyi* „
- (6.) *rTsemo-byuñ-rgyal-nam-mKhai-rgyalpo.*
- (7.) *ḅDe-va-ḡphrul-ḷkod rzogs pa-spyi-Chliñs.*
- (8.) *Byañ-chhub-Sems tig.*
- (9.) *ḅDe-va-rab-ḡbyams.*
- (10.) *Srog-gi-ḡKhorlo.*
- (11.) *Thiḡ-le-drug-pa rzogs pa-spyi-gchod.*
- (12.) *Yid-ḅshin-norpu.*
- (13.) *Kun-ḡdus rig-pa.*
- (14.) *rJe ḅtsun dam pa.*
- (15.) *dKon byed rgyalpo.*
- (16.) *rMad byuñ rgyalpo.*
- (17.) *ḡKhor-va-dón-spugs.*
- (18.) *Bya bral-medpai-rgyud.*
- (19.) *Nam-mkhah-i-kloñ-yañs kyi rgyud.*
- (20.) *Padma-kloñ-gsal-gyi-rgyud.*
- (21.) *Padma-dvañ-rygal.*
- (22.) *Yid-ḅshin-tog gi-rgyud.*

These sixteen belong to the *Sems-sde* or *Yoga* class.

These three belong to the *ḡLeñ-sde* class.

These three belong to the *Man-ñag* or *Upadeśa* class.

The following are the Tantras which appertain to the *rTsogs pa-chhen-po* in general.

- (23.) *Sems nyid bya-rtson-las ḡdas pa-nam-mkhah-chhi-vai-rgyud.*
- (24.) *De-ñiḍ ñams su-ḷlañs pa-nam mkhah-chhe-phyi-mai.*

- (25.) De-ñid yōns rzogs lbras len-nam-mkhah-chhe-phyimai rgyud
yōns su-sgro-va.
- (26.) Sems ñid hpho-hgyur-med pa chhos ñid rgyalpoi-rgyud.
- (27.) Sems ñid thig-lé-ñag-gchig-ston-pa-byuñ-sems thig lei rgyud.
- (28.) Sems ñid rañ-byuñ gi-ye shes su-ston-pa yeshes thig lei rgyud.
- (29.) Sems ñid thams Chad kyi-rtsa var bstan pa-man-ñag phreñ
vai-rgyud.
- (30.) Sems ñid-kun-khyah-chhenpor bstan pa-saṅs va-rgyal po-rgyud.
- (31.) Sems ñid rañ rig-tu-bstan pa-ye-shes dam pai rgyud.
- (32.) Sems ñid kun-tu bsañ poi rol-par ston pa nam-mkhahi dvyiñs
rnam dag-gi-rgyud.
- (33.) Sems ñid-kun-gi-sñiñ por-ston pa-man ñag sñiñ poi rgyud.
- (34.) Sems ñid ran-rig-tu zid chhes pa sñiñ po-gsañ vai rgyud.
- (35.) Sems ñid kun-gi-rtsa-va nam-mkhah chhe rtza va chan gi-rgyud.
- (36.) Sems ñid gchig tu hduṣ pa ñag gchig dgoñs pai rgyud.
- (37.) Sems ji-bshin par-bshag-pa-bsam-gtan chhen poi-rgyud.
- (38.) Sems ñid rgyun chhags su goms pa bsam gtan rgyun chhags
kyi-rgyud.
- (39.) Sems ñid thams chad du gsuñs pa sgo mañ mdoi rgyud.
- (40.) Sems ñid dvañ dañ sbyar va chhe-dvañ gi-rgyud.
- (41.) Sems ñid dvañ sgra tshig las hdaṣ pa nam-mkhah-chhe med
pai-rgyud.
- (42.) Sems ñid gdod mai-gnas su ston-pa nam-mkhah-chhe gshi hi
rgyud.
- (43.) Sems ñid hod gsal du bstan pa rinchen hlear vai rgyud.
- (44.) Sems ñid yontan lhur grub-tu-bstan pa rinchen phreñ vai-
rgyud.
- (45.) Sems ñid khamṣ gsum du gsal va khamṣ gsum sgrol mai rgyud.
- (46.) Sems ñid spañ blañ las hdaṣ pa-ston pa ṅas pa-sñiñ poi-rgyud.
- (47.) Sems ñid hpho-hgyur med par-ston pa rdorje-gsañ vai-rgyud.
- (48.) Sems ñid yi-nas saṅs rgyas par ston pa-ye-saṅs rgyas par ston
pai rgyud.

Besides these 48 Tantras there are others which claim an indigenous growth. They are the following :

- (1.) sKu-gsuñ-thugs yon-tan hphrin-las kyi-rgyud.
- (2.) rDorje-phur-pai-rgyud.
- (3.) rTa-mgrin-gyi-rgyud.

Also—

gSer-yid-chan ; gyu-yig-chan ; duñ-yig-chan, &c. of modern origin, make up thirty-five in number. Six volumes of bKaḥ-hgyur treating of Tantras are also claimed by the Nīmapas.

Besides the above-mentioned there are said to be other Tantras which being concealed by ancient sages, are not known at present.

All these Tantras are said to have been delivered by Dharma Kāya, Kuntu-ssangpo (Buddha Samanta bhadra), Vajra Sattva, and Vajradhara, &c.

The Nīnmapas who all belong to the Yogācārya school of ancient India observe Tantrik ceremonies exclusively. They have nine series of Jñāna, and speak of thirteen Bhūmis or stages of sainthood, while the Gelugpa (or the reformed sect) speak only of ten Bhūmis.

The Nīnmapas have various ceremonies for propitiating their tutelary deities who are divided into two classes called Sī (the mild) and Phro (the wrathful) Yi-dam-kyi-Lha. They have various other kinds of rules and ways of asceticism. All the Nīnma Tantras being based upon the Man-ñag scriptures, by their means numberless Indian and Tibetan (male and female) saints are said to have obtained the lowest class of perfection called "Thun-moñ-gi-dños grub."

In ancient India Achārya Kāma Vajra, Buddha Guhya, Śrī-siddha, Padma-sambhava, Vimala-mitra, &c., many Pandits, many kings headed by Indra Bhūti, and many fairies were the most important personages; and in Tibet, king Sroñ-btsan sGampo, Khri sroñ-ede-btsan, together with his 25 saintly subjects, 108 gter-ston or discoverers of sacred treasures, Rah lbyams pa the professor of kLoñ-scriptures, Dharma gri the great translator, gYuñ-ston-rDorje-dpal, sLe-luñ bshad pai-rDorje, mGonpo rdorje of Yu-thog, Ka-thog rig-hzin-chhen mo, rDor-brag-Rig hzin, Lha-btsun-chhenpo, and others. Many sages of the Sarma school also had turned Nīnma religionists.

The Nīnma sages, who had fully studied the above mentioned Tantras, had prepared commentaries on them and left their own observations in works written by them for the benefit of coming generations. It was the sage of Orgyan¹ who wrote volumes on the rZogs chhen or Atiyoga sect of the Nīnma school. It is mentioned in the histories of religion that that sage, having written his profound interpretation of the Buddhist Tantras, in a kind of fairy language, unintelligible to man, had concealed these books securely under rocks and pillars for the benefit of future generations of Buddhists. He had also left predictions, respecting the name and date of birth of the man by whom those books were to be discovered. After completing all that was necessary for the continuance of the Nīnma school, he retired to the land of cannibals on the south-west. Afterwards in regular succession, as was predicted by him, a host of gTer-stons appeared and greatly contributed to the propagation of his school and the swelling of the Nīnma scriptures, which altogether exceed five hundred volumes in number.

¹ Padma Sambhava.

For these reasons it is believed that the rest of the *Ñiñma* school is extremely pure. But latterly some persons, calling themselves *gTer-ston* to gain notoriety and to be called sages, mixed many spurious and false theories with the ancient ones. Those pretended *gTer-stons* not agreeing among themselves, out of envy and enmity to each other, enjoined many obscene observances under the garb of religion. They gave out that the Tantras prescribed unrestrained libertinism as the easiest and surest mode of salvation. Female modesty was no consideration to them at all. For a time, by their influence, the teachings of the *Sútras* (*Amdo-scriptures*) were set aside in preference to those diabolical Tantras which were considered to be the direct means of *Nirvána*. For this reason the monks gave up taking the vows of celibacy and moral discipline. The laws of *Dulva* were entirely neglected. Particularly after *Lañ-darma's* persecution of the Buddhists of Tibet, some *Tantriks*, in the heat of debauchery and drunkenness, had composed many spurious Tantras, putting into writing the ravings of their intoxicated brains. Again during the revival of Buddhism, when the *Sarma* system of schools was about to be diffused in Tibet, certain *Tantriks* composed several works in which many strange elements were introduced. In them the *Thiñ-rje-chhenpo* of the *mÑiñmapas*, the *Brahma* Tantras of the *Brahmans*, the mysticism of the *Bonpo* were mixed together, in consequence of which those works no longer resembled the ancient works on Tantras. From these sprung the ceremonies of *Khregs chhod* and *Mun khrid*, &c. Those who practised the magical sorceries founded on them were notorious for their arrogance and wicked impositions. When their wickedness was exposed by the great Reformer, the two *Ñiñma* Lamas, named *Pesna Liñpa* and *Shakya-mchhog eDan*, jointly conspiring against him, gave out to the world that *Tsoñkhapa* was a real demon incarnate, whose sworn mission was the working of the downfall of Buddhism in Tibet.

The same two Lamas also wrote a volume of about 500 leaves about the reformatations, charging *Tsoñkhapa* with many kinds of blasphemies. They even went so far as to say that the crown which he put on the image of *Jovo* (Lord) *Sákya Muni*, was rivetted on its head with copper-nails, that the flowers that were daily showered on it fell owing to the sorceries, as so many thorns. They predicted that on account of these impious acts, the Buddhist religion was destined to collapse after 500 years from that date, and that shortly the sun, moon and stars would fall a hundred (*Tibetan*) miles below their ordinary paths. To this work they gave sanctity by declaring that it was discovered to be a book of ancient prophecy, classed under *Ñiñma Terma* scripture. Many right-thinking and honest *Ñiñma* Lamas question the validity of this work, although the uninformed and the ignorant *Ñiñma* followers believe in its pre-

ditions and do not hesitate to slander the Gelugpa school. The Gelugpa writers successfully refuted all the charges contained in that work and exposed the malice of its blasphemous authors.

From that time, on account of the doctrinal differences between the *Ñiñma* and *Sarma* schools, especially between the former and the reformed school (*Gelugpa*), disputes and controversies commenced. Most of the eminent writers of Tibet are of opinion that the great body of *Ñiñma* scriptures were alloyed with strange and spurious writings, and there are very few books which have any pretensions to originality or antiquity. Among those which are said to be very pure may be classed the following :

- (1.) *dKon-mChhog-spyi hDus*, 6 vols.
- (2.) *mKhah-hGro sNyîn-thig*.
- (3.) *Lho-gTer*.
- (4.) *Bima sÑiñ-thig*.
- (5.) *kLón-Chhen-sÑiñ-thig*.
- (6.) *gYu-thog sÑiñ-thig*.
- (7.) *Byañ-gTer-gyi Chhos skor*.
- (8.) *gTer-bDag-gLiñ pahi-chhos skor*.
- (9.) *Nam-chhos kyi-skor*.
- (10.) *rGyal-va-eNa vahi-rÑiñ-vahi-chhos kyi skor*.
- (11.) *rTa-mgrin chhos-skor &c.*, and many others.

The study of the above-mentioned books is believed to be very efficacious to ascetics, in obtaining sainthood. In profundity of import these books are unrivalled by other religious works of the same school. Among the best and purest of *Ñiñma* monasteries are (1) *sMin-grol gLiñ*, (2) *rDorje-brag*, (3) *Kham-ka-thog*, (4) *S'hi-chhen-rtsoqs chhen*, &c. and many others of less fame. In these monasteries, moral discipline and religious strictness are greatly observed, in consequence of which their resident monks are said to have great pretensions to purity of life.

The *Nyingmas* schools have voluminous works called *Upaneshas* on the subtlety of rites.

In the *Sarma* or modern school are included the following sects, *bKah-gDams pa*, *bKah-brGyud pa*, *Sakya-pa*, *Karma pa*, *Jonañ pa*, *dGelug-pa*, &c. The principal theories and rules of these sects are :

- (1.) Constant meditation about the attainment of *Bodhisattva-hood* (sainthood).
- (2.) Uninterrupted attention to compassion towards all living beings.
- (3.) Reverence and adoration to the great and precious Holy Being, called *dKON-mCHHOG*.
- (4.) The renouncing of worldly enjoyments and business, and residence in solitude to limit the sphere of doing and desires.

- (5.) The external observance and conduct of life to accord with the laws of Dulva (Vinaya teachings.)
- (6.) Internally, the full comprehension of the metaphysical portion of the Tantras called *bškyed* rim and *rtsogs* rim.
- (7.) The practice of the meditative science or yoga, holding the theories of universal illusiveness and voidity (S'únyatá).
- (8.) The comprehension of the essence of the Mádhyamika philosophy by which the attainment of sainthood is ensured.

ḌKAḥ-gDAMS PA SECT.

This sect was founded by the great Indian Pandit Dipánkara Śrī Jñána (Jova-rje-dPal-edan Atiśa of the Tibetans). There are records of over three thousand Lamas of eminence and learning in the annals of this sect. Among them *hBrom-ston-rgyal-vai-hbyuñ-gna* Potopa the philosopher, and *sPyan-mñah-va*, &c. were very celebrated.

ḌKAḥ-brGYUD PA SECT.

Of this sect, the sages *rDoje-hChhañ-chhen*, Telopa, Náropa, Marpa, Mela Dvags po Lha-rje, &c. were the successive presidents. Marpa having obtained a good deal of religious instruction from Atiśa, mixed the *ḌKAḥ-brGYud* theories with those of the *ḌKAḥ-gDams* sect.

The Darśana of this sect is called Mahá-mudra (Phyag-rgya-chhenpo). This is divided into two classes called Sotri-Mahámudra and Tantri-Mahámudra, the latter of which they reject. On the whole the significations of the Mahámudra resemble those of the S'únyatá theories.

Its meditative science is similar to those of the Prasanga Mádhyamika school of ancient India.

The chief Yedam or tutelary deities of this sect are the Lord of Gubya Samája-sḍDemehhog (Sambhara) and *rDorje-Phagmo*, &c.

Its guiding instructions called *Man-ñag* were drawn up by the sage Náropa, for which they are called *Náro-chhos-drug*. Anciently this sect possessed the greater number of sages, ascetics and scholars, many of whom had obtained sainthood. At one time its monks numbered several hundreds of thousands. The Lamas of this sect pay more attention now to the meditative science, and less to Vyákarāṇa and other branches of sacred literature. Although at one time *ḌKAḥ-brgyud pa* Lamas were eminently famous for their knowledge of metaphysics and Darśana, yet now-a-days there are not many who can fairly claim the distinction of sages. In fact they more resemble the shadows of their predecessors. They generally mix with the Níñma Lamas in perverse and forbidden conduct, such as female company, drinking intoxicating liquors, &c.

SAKYA SECT.

This sect derives its name from the name of the place of its origin. It is an offshoot of the *bKah-brgyud pa* sect in a reformed state.

The tutelary deities, generally invoked by the followers of this sect, are *Kye-rdorje* (Hé Vajra), *Phyagna rDorje* (Vajra Páni) &c.

That rotatory existence and emancipation from it are inseparable, is its chief theory. Leading instructions are taken from the works called *gSer-chhos-bChug-sum*. The Lamas of this sect are tolerably learned in sacred literature. The ancient monks of this sect are said to have obtained sainthood by propitiating the fairy *Náro-mkhah sphyodma*. The monks in general are known to be little strict in the observance of the laws of *Dulva*. They drink, and mix and live with women.

Gelugpa School.

This is at present the dominant school of the Buddhists in Tibet. It was founded by the celebrated reformer *Tsoñkhapa* and obtained great diffusion under his chief disciples, one hundred and fifty in number, among whom the Regent *Darma Rinchen*, the sage *Gelepalssañ*, *Gedundub*, &c., were most eminent. *Tsoñkhapa* found that by the eccentricities of the *Tantrik* (*Niñma*), Buddhism in Tibet had greatly degenerated, so much so that it could hardly claim the name of Buddhism at all. Its divergence from the tenets of Buddha was too wide to enable any student of Buddhism to reconcile it with any sort of Buddhism that then prevailed in the north. With great pains he succeeded in organizing a reformation which struck the older schools by the root. His works on the different branches of the sacred literature were in accordance with the *Kahgyur* and *Tañyur*.

The Lamas and monks of his school were very accomplished in tenets, the observance of ceremonies and the science of meditation. Their moral discipline, behaviour and attention to study were exemplary. They were also experts in argumentative philosophy. Under *Tsoñkhapa's* direction they made new annotations on the important portions of *Kahgyur* and *Tañyur* and the various works on *Tantras*. The great monasteries of Tibet, *Sera dapunj*, *Guhdan Tashilhumpo*, and those of *Kham*, *Amdo*, *Mongolia* and *China*, altogether numbering more than one thousand, adopted the reformed creed. Under his disciples and their disciples within a few years, more than 10,000 monasteries adopted the reformed tenets. The largest of these monasteries contained 10,000 monks, the smallest respectable ones not less than 800. In these *Gelugpa* monasteries, the study of *Tantras*, *Mantras*, *Kálachakra*, medicine, &c. was greatly encouraged. The *Gelugpa* religious ceremonies were conducted according to the prescribed directions of the sacred books. Such extraordinary success as attended

Tsoṅkhapa's reformation was not known, not to speak of Tibet, in the annals of Ancient India since the Nirvāṇa of Buddha.

The Emperor of China, Princes of Mongolia, and other great patrons of Buddhism paid tribute to his honour. Tsoṅkhapa is said to have appointed under a solemn covenant a great number of gods, demons, demi-gods and fairies to defend the sacred religion. In the other sects, when an enemy invaded the sacred precincts, the monks generally used to escape by flight. Some of these sometimes killed their enemies by propitiating demons and evil spirits, and by the practice of sorceries and the black art. But such proceedings being contrary to the precepts of Buddha, the cursed perpetrators eventually had to go to hell.

The followers of the Sakya sect and the Gelugpas were free from the guilt of such infernal practices.

Manbodh's Haribans.—By G. A. GRIERSON, C. S.

PART I.—TEXT.

The following poem is in the Maithilī dialect of the Bihārī Language.

It was written by a poet named Man'bodh, or Bholan Jhā, the fourteenth and last of his race. He lived at Jam'sam, close to the well-known village of Pandaul in the Madhubanī subdivision of the Darbhanga District. He married a daughter of one Bhikhārī Jhā, and died without issue about the year 1195 F. S. (circ. A. D. 1788). This date is borne out by the fact that a grandson of this same Bhikhārī Jhā died only four years ago, a very old man. Beyond the details of the names of his ancestors, which are kept by the Maithilī genealogists, I have obtained no further information concerning him. He is said by tradition, to have translated the whole of the *Harivamśa* into Maithilī verse, and extracts from the translation are current and extremely popular throughout northern Mithilā. I have never met with a complete copy of the whole work, and I fear the latter portion of it is lost beyond recovery. After some years' search I have been able, through the kind assistance of Bábú Śrī Nārāyaṇa Simha of Jogiyārā, to obtain accurate copies of two MSS., which I shall designate as A and B. A, which I have taken as the foundation of my text, is much the more correct of the two, and contains the first ten *adhyāyas*. B is not so carefully written, has one or two *lacunæ*, and only contains nine *adhyāyas*, the tenth being missing. A is therefore, my only authority for that portion of the text. With the exception of the *lacunæ* above-mentioned, the two MSS. agree very closely. Any important differences will, however, be duly noted.

The poem is deserving of special attention, as an example of the Maithilī of the last century, affording a connecting link between the old Maithilī of Vidyāpati, and the modern Maithilī of Harkh'nāth and other writers of the present day. It contains some forms which have survived from times prior even to Vidyāpati, and which hence have especial interest.

I purpose at an early date to publish a translation, with notes illustrating and explaining the many grammatical difficulties which are found in it. I shall, therefore, not deal with the subject of Manbodh's Grammar at present, and, with regard to the subject matter of the text, it will be sufficient now to say that it contains the usual familiar legends of the incarnation and life of Kṛishṇa, from the first promise of Viṣṇu to become incarnate, to the first defeat of Jarāsandha. It thus corresponds roughly with a little more than the first half of the tenth book of the *Bhāgavata*, or with chapters 57 to 93 of the *Harivamśa*.

The metre of the poem is uniform throughout. It is a variety of the *Chaupái Chhand*, containing fifteen instants in each half line, with a break after the sixth. The last three instants in each half rhyme with each other, and usually take the form of one long syllable, and one short, thus — \cup . Sometimes, however they take the form of three short syllables, thus $\cup \cup \cup$: but in every case the last syllable must be short. Usually but not always, the eleventh and twelfth instants also consist of two short syllables.

I have used the signs ॡ , ॢ , ॣ , and । , for the short vowels ē , ā , ō , āṛ , peculiar to Eastern Gaudian languages. Their non-initial forms are ॥ ॢ ॣ , । ॥ , and । ॢ respectively. These signs have already been used by me in my grammars of the Bihār dialects now being published by the Government of Bengal, and are not new, having (with the exception of ॡ) been used by Dr. Hoernle for similar purposes in his Gaudian Grammar.

The use of the sibilants was very uncertain in the copies of the poem which were available; ॡ and ॢ , and again ॣ and । being freely interchangeable without any system. I have therefore in every case taken customary pronunciation as the surest guide:—always altering un-compounded ॡ to ॢ , and un-compounded ॣ to । . In a few foreign words like ॡ 'outery,' ॡ has been retained; and, out of deference to strong prejudice, I have allowed the customary spelling of the words ॡ , and ॢ to remain, though the present Maithil pronunciation, is certainly ॣ , and । respectively.

The vowel ॣ is never pronounced in Maithilī, the sound ॣ being used instead; in fact, ॣ is, as often as not, not only pronounced but written ॣ . Under these circumstances, I have adopted the less pedantic, and more rational spelling.

As regards the quantity of vowels for the purposes of scansion, with the exception of ॣ , they all tell their own tale when before a single consonant. ॣ may be either long or short for metric purposes, but in the termination ॣ of the preterite it is always short.* There are many examples of short ॣ throughout the poem: an example of the 1st class is ॣ (I, 10), in which the ॣ is short: an example of the second class ॣ (II, 2).

Short vowels can become long by position, but this is not an invariable rule. They are always short before the compounds ॣ (e. g., ॣ III, 8) and ॣ (e. g., ॣ II, 32). Before the nexus of a nasal and another class-consonant, they are common,—Example, ॣ , long in VII, 42, but short in VII, 53. Examples of vowels short before this kind of nexus are very common; and, in order to help the reader, when the preceding syllable is short I have denoted it by *anusvādra*, and when it is long by the class nasal. Thus in ॣ the first syllable will be read long, but in ॣ it will be read short. So, ॣ will be read with the first syllable long, but

* So also in Vidyāpati.

इंदर with it short. Of course, it must be understood that this *anuswāra* is merely a *compendium scripturæ*, and that whichever way the word is spelt, the pronunciation is the same. Vowels before a nexus of the semi-vowel र and a consonant may also be short,—example, अर्जुन (I, 24).

Before other conjuncts the vowel is generally long, but I have noted the words अखनि (I, 35), त्रिष्टि (v, 51), प्रस्थान (vi, 25), and सहस्र (vii, 26) as exceptions, and there are not impossibly others which have escaped my notice.

Anunāsika never affects either metre or rhyme. For an example of the latter, see VIII, 41.

The first syllable in the word कंश is always long. As already mentioned it should be spelt कन्स.

The word कंचो 'any,' is frequently written को.

The verbal termination of the third person ह्नि, is frequently written अन्हि as a separate word; e. g., (II, 53) देखलअन्हि *dēkhala anhi* for देखलून्हि *dēkhalankhi* (*dēkhalankh'*). This termination can also be used with the 1st or 2nd person; e. g., घरबअन्हि (VIII, 45).

With the aid of the above remarks I hope that no difficulty will be found in reading and scanning the poem.

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।

अथ प्रथमोऽध्यायः ।

प्रथमों* हिमगिरि कूमरि चरन । जे बल कवि सभ त्रिभुवन बरन ॥ १ ॥
 हमजँ कैल अक्कि मन बड़ गोठ । कृष्ण जनम परिनष्ट नहिँ कोठ ॥
 कोनपरि कैत तकर निरबाह । फ़खन लगैअक्कि अगम अथाह ॥
 कैत कदाचित हो पुनु नीक । नहिँ हो तकरो सङ्गा थीक ॥
 तँ डर पुनु पुनु मङ्गल करिअ । हरिपद कमल फ़िदफ़ हम धरिअ ॥ ५ ॥
 धरनी भार बेआकुलि भेलि । सुरभि रूप धै सुरपुर गेलि ॥
 किछु नहिँ ततजँ काज सँ भेल । धरनिक सङ्ग सबज जन गेल ॥
 देबलोक बरछा सँ कहल । ओतज मनोरथ ओहने रहल ॥
 सङ्ग देव बरछा भेल आगु । तन्हिकाँ पाछाँ धरनी लागु ॥
 कीरसमुद्र तीर सभ गेल । अङ्गलि बज धैआन धरि लेल ॥ १० ॥
 सुरतख कानन मनिमष्ट गेह । लखिनारायण देखल सदेह ॥
 कमलासन किछु कहवाँ लागु । ताहिँ अवसर धरनी भेलि आगु ॥
 भार दुबर तन थरर काँप । वजइति नोर नफ़न दुज भाँप ॥
 लागलि कहइ धरनि हरि हेरि । हम हँब मगन रसातल फेरि ॥

* B. प्रथमों । † B. ओहि । ‡ B. omits this line ।

अमर समर जत जुमल अखर । तत जनमल अक्कि परिजन पूर ॥ १५ ॥
 हप्र हाथी हथिआरक भार । गिरि कानन बरनप्र के पार ॥
 सर्वसहाप्र छहि* नाम सेाँ आज । सपथ करिअ हम अग्रलज्ज बाज ॥
 नाथ अनाथक सारंग पानि । सरन दिअओ सरनागति† जानि ॥
 कहनामप्र काँ कहना भेल । धैरज बज्जत धरनि काँ देल ॥
 धरनी किछु दिन धैरज धरब । हम अबतरब भार सब हरब ॥ २० ॥
 मथुरा बसाँ देबकि बसुदेव । तन्त्रिका भवन जनम हम लेब ॥
 ई सुनि सभक जुड़ाप्रल कान । अन्तरहित भेल खीभगवान ॥
 जेँ परि‡ जनम जतै जे बेल । पहरेक तकरो गमर्यनि भेल ॥
 इन्दर अन्स अर्जुन अवतार । भीमसेन॥ भेल पवन कुमार ॥
 धर्म जुधिछिर केँ॥ बुझि लेब । अखनि कुमार नकुल सहदेव ॥ २५ ॥
 हरि अनुमत लप्र ई मत भेल । तखन अमर अमरावति गेल ॥
 जोग निन्द जग ईखर जानि । तखन बजाओल सारंग पानि ॥
 कहलन्हि जाह तोहँ तुरत पताल । आनह क्यो गोठ दानब बाल ॥
 बेरि बेरि देबकि गर्भ देब सख । ओहि क्योह्र काँ वैह भवितव्य ॥
 सातम संकरखित कप्र लेब । देबकि सेाँ रोहिनि केँ देब ॥ ३० ॥
 पुरख पुरातन परम उदार । ओह्यो हमहिँ हलधर अवतार ॥
 आठम भप्र हम अपनहिँ आओब । जेहन बनत पुनु तेहन बनाओब ॥
 जसोमति भवन जनम तोहँ लेब । तोहँ हम बदल करव बसुदेव ॥
 रोदन सुनि रक्क जे रहत । जागत जाप्र कांश काँ कहत ॥
 कांश आप्र तोहँ लेत उठाप्र । बल सेाँ पटकत पथर लगाप्र ॥ ३५ ॥
 अलगहि उड़ि तोहि लागब अकास । ई कहि इंदर भवन कैंत बास ॥
 कथि लप्र कांश पटकलह मोहि । से जनमल अक्कि** मारत तोहि ॥
 दुर दुर निरदप्र ई तोर चालि । प्रकर उचित फल पैबह कालि ॥
 भन मनबोध पक्षाँ किछु रहल । कथा प्रसङ्ग आगु हम कहल ॥ ३८ ॥

इति मनबोधकविक्रते हरिवंशे भाषायां प्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥ १ ॥

अथ द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ।

कमलासन सुत सिबक इआर । खीभगवानक बज्जत† पिआर ॥ १ ॥
 कलह बिसारद नारद मूनि । ऐलाह सकल सुगा जक सुनि ॥

* B. omits छहि । † B. सरनागत । ‡ B. बसथि । § B. जे फेरि ।
 ॥ B. सैन । ¶ B. सेाँ । ** B. अथि । †† B. बड़े ।

कीर समुद्र तीर जे भेल । से सभ बिजँसि बिजँसि टुसि देल ॥
 देबकि काँ जे आठम बाल । से जैत कंश तोहर जिव काल ॥
 सुनिरह कंश अकासक बानि । से दिन तोहर तुलाफल आनि ॥ ५ ॥
 ई सुनि कंश खड़ग लै ठाढ़ । सिब सिब देबकि जिव पर गाढ़ ॥
 अति निरबन्ध कंश प्रह भाख । कटगर तर अङ्गना कँथो राख ॥
 कर जोरि बिनति करथि बसुदेव । जिवप्र दिअओ बर बालक लेब ॥
 अपना जिव साँ तनप्र परान । से जग के थिक जे नहिँ जान ॥
 जदि संसप्र होअ जनमक काल । बान्हि धरिअ बर बन्दी साल ॥ १० ॥
 कंश कप्रल* बसुदेव बिचार । करमक लिखल भेटप्र के पार ॥
 बुभलन्हि कंश बिधाता बङ्ग । रच्छक दै कऊ भेलाह निसङ्ग ॥
 बन्दी साल पाल कहि देल । कँथो बालक कालक बसि भेल ॥
 सातम गरभ पात भेल शोर । से बालक गेल रोहिनि कोर ॥
 जोग निन्द किछु कर परहार । मातल भुतल सुतल रखबार ॥ १५ ॥
 भादब कृष्ण अष्टमी जानि । राति महा प्रभु जनमल आनि ॥
 चकर गदा कर सरसिज सङ्ग । देखि देबकि मन उपजल भाङ्ग ॥
 कह बसुदेव देबकि कर जोरि । कंश बाघ हम हरिनी खोरि ॥
 रूप चतुरभुज दै हलु झाड़ि । नारद दैत गप्र उकठी बारि ॥
 दीनक बन्धु अनाथक नाथ । मानल कहल रहल दुइ हाथ ॥ २० ॥
 जेहि बेरि जनम महा प्रभु लेल । तखन अन्हार प्रहन सन भेल ॥
 लागल भाड़ी भुलल सब दिग । प्रभु पच्छी सभ परल अदिग ॥
 सुइ लप्र बेधिय गाँथिय ताग । हाथ कुबिय ताँ हाथहिँ लाग ॥
 गगन गरजि घन बरिसप्र बारि । तँ फनिपति देल फना पसारि ॥
 साहस बड़ बसुदेवक ताहि । गोकुल काँ हरि येलाह निबाहि ॥ २५ ॥
 तखनुक हरख कहब गप्र काहि । ओहनि दुर्ग जमुना भेलि थाहि ॥
 जसोमति सूतलि जोग निंद माति । अदल बदल भेल सुतलिहिँ राति ॥
 ई कन्या लप्र भेजा देखि । से जेटा कहिनी कहि गेलि ॥

जे किछु भाखल नारद मूनि । कंशक हन्स उड़ल से सूनि ॥
 निज अनुचरि तहाँ लेल हकारि । बड़ि अगलहि तहाँ पुतना नारि ॥ ३० ॥
 सभ मुख हेरि कंश हलु भाखि । बालक कतऊ हनिअ जनु राखि ॥
 धप्र धप्र पटकब पाथर लाप्र । देखब सन्हारब उड़ि नहिँ जाप्र ॥

* B. सुनल कंश । † B. देखन्हि । ‡ B. डा ।

जे बालक रह बड़ पकसेठ । अरबधि तन्त्रिक ममोरब ठाँठ ॥
 कै देब सबै सबजुँ प्रह कहल । जत चाहब साहेब जनु दहल ॥
 निज अनुचर सभ कहल हकार । तखन कांश गेल कारागार ॥ ३५ ॥
 ई कहि फोफ़ल देवकि बसुदेब । दोख न हमर बिधाता देब ॥
 अतहि जनमल जे देत* खेद । त्रिधा कैल तोर बन्सक केद ॥
 लाजक लेल मुख हेरिओ न होअ । के धरि बान्ह बहिनि बहिनोअ ॥
 कृमा करब अनुचित वड़ भेल । ई कहि कांश सप्रन घर गेल ॥

जखन जसोमति काँ निंद टुटल । मन भरि रङ्ग रतन धन लुटल ॥ ४० ॥
 आनंद नन्दक उर न समाप्र । हरखक नोर नग्रन बड़िआप्र ॥
 जैत प्रात भेल नग्र हकार । तखनुक हरख कहप्र के पार ॥
 तेल सिन्दुर सभ देलन्हि ओआरि । चरि चरि चुर देखे मथा गोआरि ॥
 हरि महिमा कथुऊक नहिँ खागि । ठेऊन तर गेल सिन्दुर लागि ॥
 क्यो घर अङ्गना केअओ दुआरि । कै ठाम डोमकक नाच गोआरि ॥ ४५ ॥
 सोहर गाव भाव बेकताओ । नचितहिँ जाप्र पुन नचितहिँ आओ ॥
 नाच काक सभ तरहक भेल । अपन अपन घर सभ क्यो गेल ॥

प्रक दिन जसोमति गेलि अलसाप्र । सूति रहलि हरि झिदप्र लगाप्र ॥
 नन्द महरि काँ सुतला जानि । पुतना तखन तुलाप्रलि आनि ॥
 सर सर कै घर पैसलि धाप्र । बैसलि बिख दुध देलन्हि पिआप्र ॥ ५० ॥
 हरि भरि पेट पिउल दुध हरखि । सेनित सहित परान लेल करखि ॥
 आरत नाद बजत बड़राप्र । कटला तर जक खस अड़राप्र ॥
 सबज देखलअन्हि जे कल जागल । तारक तर जनि लबनी लागल ॥
 कीदऊ पढ़ि हरि नन्द चुमौल । आसिख दै हरि झिदप्र लगौल ॥

प्रक दिन भै गेल बिधिक संजोग । जसोमति लप्र गेलि सकटक देग ॥ ५५ ॥
 ओतहि सुतौलन्हि आकुलि भेलि । काजक हेतु कतऊ चलि गेलि ॥
 प्रहन महा प्रभु ओहना बिकट । टक टक हेरथि सकटक[†] निकट ॥

* B. देखो । † B. ने अटाप्रल । ‡ B. भरि आप्रल । § B. चुर दै ।
 || B. omits this line. ¶ B. हेरथि सकट कर ।

असरन सरन चरन देल फैंकि । उनटल सकट ककर सक टेकि ॥
 भै गेल बाँक टाँक सभ टुटल । सकटक अकट बकट सभ फुटल* ॥
 कड़ कड़ सुनि बड़ बड़ जन धाओल । कहि नहिँ सकट के जना उनटाओल ॥ ६० ॥
 सिसुगन कहछ सपथ हम करिअ । हिन उनटाओल देखितहिँ रहिअ ॥
 आगो माइ आगो माइ अजगुत भेल । ई कहि जसोमति निज सुत लेल ॥
 भन मनबोध हरि अबसर पाओल । रति फ्रक महिमा अपन जनाओल ॥ ६१ ॥
 इति मनबोधकविक्रते हरिवंशे भाषायां द्वितीयोऽध्यायः ॥ २ ॥

अथ तृतीयोऽध्यायः ।

कतो फ्रक दिवस जखन बिति गेल । हरि पुन हथगर गोड़गर भेल ॥ १ ॥
 से कोन ठाम जतै नहिँ जाथि । कै बेरि अंगनजँ सेँ बह राथि ॥
 द्वार उपर सोँ धरि धरि आनि । हरखित हसथि जसोमति रानि ।
 कै बेरि साप धरछ लै जाथि । कै बेरि चून दही बदि खाथि ॥
 कौसल चलथि मारि कजँ चाल । जसोमति काँ भेल जिवक जंजाल ॥ ५ ॥
 कै बेरि आगि हाथ सेँ छीनु । कै बेरि पकलाह तकला बीनु ॥
 कहलन्हि सिखबह हमरहि ताहि । टाङ्ग तोरिअ तौँ हम को नाहि ।
 ई कहि बन्दलन्हि उखरि लगाछ । कहलन्हि पुत रिंग जाउ तौँ पराछ ॥
 भेलिह निस्झ समै हरि पाओल । हरि भरि पाँज उखरि ओढ़नाओल ॥
 गुड़कल गुड़कल भिड़कल जाछ । जतछ रहछ दुइ त्रिच्छ अकाछ ॥ १० ॥
 जमला अरजुन कमला नाथ । जुगुति उपारल कुइल न हाथ ॥
 खसल महा तरु हसल मुरारि । भेल अघात जगत परचारि ॥
 तरुक सबद सुनि दौड़ल नन्द । तेजि देल गाछ परौ बरु बन्द ॥
 की तरु खसल बिहारि न भाँट । आज होइत मोर बारह बाट ॥
 आङ्गन सुन देखि नछन नोराछल । जसोमति काँ हिअ हाथ हेंराछल ॥ १५ ॥
 की फल भेल मोहि फ्रतेक अगोरि । नहिँ देखि उखरि नहिँ देखि डेरि ॥
 लगले जसोमति पजँचलि धाछ । नेरु हेंरैनेँ जेहन धेनु गाछ ॥
 बान्ह फोछ हरि ह्रिदछ लगाओलि । परम प्रीति परतीति जनाओलि ॥
 अञ्चल भाँपि भवन लै गेलि । नछन बरसि जलधर तह भेलि ॥
 आनन चुम्बि पयोधर धैल । सबजँ सखी मिलि मङ्गल कैल ॥ २० ॥

* B. सकतक बकट काँट सभ टुटल । † B. कओन । ‡ B. omits this line ।
 § B. हेंरैनेँ जेँ । ॥ B. omits vv. 18—20, and substitutes जसोमति फोछ
 हरि ह्रिदछ लगाओलि । हरि दामोदर पदवौ पाओलि ॥

भन मनबोध हम अपन गेआन । बरनल बाल गोविन्दक धेआन ॥ २१ ॥

इति मनबोधकविकृते हरिवंशे भाषायां तृतीयोऽध्यायः ॥ ३ ॥

अथ चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ।

प्रक दिन नंद जिअ सन्सै बाढ़ि । आगँ महारि जसेदा ठाढ़ि ॥ १ ॥
गोकुल के उतपात बिचारि । सुक बैसल सभ लोक हकारि ॥
अह निसि चौदिस सन्सै ब्रीक । पुर परिजन लगइकि हतसीक ॥
सकल पञ्च मिलि रचिअ बिचार । होइकि* उपद्रव बारम्बार ॥
अब प्रहि ठाम उचित नहिँ बास । उपटि बसिअ ब्रिन्दावन पास ॥ ५ ॥
ओहि ठाम गिरि गोवर्द्धन सूभ । ग्वारा काँ से ताकहि बूभ ॥
अगिलहि दिन सभ उपटल सपटि । जनि कन मध्य बखो गेल उपटि ॥
ओहि नगरी सेँ ओह निक भेल । जनि हरिचन्द पुरी उगि गेल ॥
सात बरख हरि बैसक भेल । कऊ खन खन नहिँ खेड़िक लेल ॥
कऊ खन नाचथि गावथि गीत । खैताहअन्नि से परलप्र बीत ॥ १० ॥

प्रक दिन हरि हलधर दुऊ भाप्र । नन्द अपन लग लेलन्नि बजाप्र ॥
बाभन पोथी कृत्रिप्र तीर । नैदहि सिख चरवाहि अहीर ॥
सुरपति बरह्मा सिब सेव जाहि । तनिका नन्द सोपल चरवाहि ॥
हरि हलधर दुऊ हरखित भेल । लै बकरू ब्रिन्दावन गेल ॥
सुर नागरि गोकुल अबतरलि । धन जन भरलि बड़े अहि गरलि ॥ १५ ॥
केवल सभ काँ कृष्ण सोहाथि । सासु ननद घर बज्जत कोहाथि ॥
क्यो नहिँ मानप्र काऊक हटल । सबजक मनऊ न कहि सेँ अटल ॥

प्रक दिन अनुचर रह सभ साथ । जमुना हरदहि गेल ब्रजनाथ ॥
फ़द देखि कैलन्नि फ़िदप्र बिचार । प्रहि अकि काली फ़नि दुरबार ॥
जमुना फ़द बिखबत कै जानि । पसु पच्छी क्यो पिये न पानि ॥ २० ॥
तीरक चिन तरुअर जरि गेल । बिखहिक आगि भिखा कप्र लेल ॥
आज करिअ अब प्रकर उपाप्र । बैसिअ नहिँ जल पैसिअ धाप्र ॥
कादमक तरु चढ़ि भड़कक मारि । आँखि मूनि दुऊ कुदल सुरारि ॥

* B. has कैअदि । † B. ईकहि ।

बाँहि बजारि कप्रल बड़ दाप । तकर सबद सुनि दौड़ल साप ॥
 परम तेजाप्रल आप्रल जूमि । घेरि लेलक घड़ि प्रक घुमि घूमि ॥ २५ ॥
 परबत सन फनि कर फुफुकार । प्रकसर संग नहिँ कुल परिवार ॥
 सधलक गै पुनु बन्दलक गात । अजगुत कैलक धैलक दाँत ॥
 जमुना ऋद भेल चापश्चाप । पानि सुभै नहिँ सापहिँ साप ॥
 घड़ि प्रक कृष्ण बड़े दुख पाओल । सप्य राज बड़ दर्य जनाओल ॥
 से देखि सङ्ग सखा सभ धाओल । गै कऊ गाम गोहारि लगाओल ॥ ३० ॥
 दौड़ल नन्द जसोमति राम । कागपुत्र नहिँ रहलै गाम ॥
 ब्याकुल भै सभ पऊँचल धाप्र । कानथि जसोमति धरनि लोटाप्र ॥
 प्रकटक नन्द तनप्र मुख ताक । चित्र लिखल जनि साँस न बाक ॥
 गोपबधू कह मन अनुमानि । प्रक दुइ महिमा कृष्णक जानि ॥
 प्रान कुसल कृधि सारंग पानि । तिलओ न मुख कबि भेल मलानि ॥ ३५ ॥
 दिन मनि बिनु दिन ससि बिनु राति । हरि बिनु ब्रज तीनू प्रक भाँति ॥
 बिनु दामोदर जे ब्रज जाप्र । भ्रिग भ्रिग तकर बाप औ माप्र ॥
 सबज परिय जमुना ऋद जाप्र । प्रहिँ तह सुखद साप बर खाप्र ॥
 कर प्रक किछु ककरऊँ नहिँ फुरल । घड़ि प्रक अड़रा कड़रा पुरल ॥
 हलधर काँ मति अति अकुलाप्रल । देखि हरि आँखि लिधुर भरि आप्रल ॥ ४० ॥
 महिमा अपन चेताओनि कैल । बानी तखन अपन हरि धैल ॥
 बान्द कान सभ फोप्रल बलहि । परम बिरड जुड भेल जलहि ॥
 मानुख भै कत पौरख करथु । सै गोट फनि तहाँ कै गोट धरथु ॥
 जिति कऊँ मभिलहि फनि भेल ठाढ़ । कै देल पैर बजर सन गाढ़ ॥
 देखि हरखित भेल नन्द सन्धिय । घड़ि प्रक भेल बिनु कौड़िक न्दिय ॥ ४५ ॥
 करितहि नाच प्रह्नन कै मलल । फनि सौँ फन फन सोनित चलल ॥
 सोनित बज्जत तुरित बहि गेल । जमुना कुटलि सरस्वति भेल ॥
 नागिनि कहप्र नमर भै बानि । खामि दान दिअ सारंग पानि ॥
 सरनागत बधवाँ अछि बाध । बिनु जननेँ भेल बड़ अपराध ॥
 कतै मन्हा प्रसु अति बल दाप । कतै अलप सन खलमति साप ॥ ५० ॥
 ई सुनि हरि मन भेल अनुराग । कहप्र नागल किछु काशी नाग ॥
 केमिअ केमिअ खोपति मोर दोख । हम अपराध कैल भरिपोख ॥
 सरनागत मति हम अब धरिअ । हत बिख भेलऊँ कहिअ से करिअ ॥
 गरड़क डर हम प्रहिँ ठाम रहिअ । चलिअ न कतऊ बज्जत दुख सहिअ ॥
 हमर चरन खगपति जौँ देखत । बिसरत बैर बन्धु कप्र लेखत ॥ ५५ ॥
 अब प्रहिँ ठाम न तोहर निबाह । भित्य सहित तोहँ सागर जाह ॥

कै परनाम चलल तत काल । जत कल जमुना ओहि ऋद ब्याल ॥
 भित्य सहित ओहि सागर गेल । तखन सुखप्रद ओ ऋद भेल ॥
 नन्द जसोमति मन अवधारि । जनि जनमल कृधि आज सुरारि ॥
 काली दमन पढ़त जे सुनत । सै जम केँ त्रिन बत कै गनत ॥ ६० ॥
 भरि जीवन धनजनक* बिलास । अन्त काल बैकुण्ठहिँ बास ॥
 मन मनबोध सभ हरखित भेल । गीत नित्य करितहिँ सभ गेल ॥ ६२ ॥

इति मनबोधकविक्रते हरिवंशे भाषायां चतुर्थोऽध्यायः ॥ ४ ॥

अथ पंचमोऽध्यायः ।

प्रक दिन हरि हलधर दुऊ भाए । संग सिसु गन तर बन हलु जाए ॥ १ ॥
 तारक सौरभ पऊँचल आए । लागल सबऊँक मुँह पनिकाए ॥
 ककरऊँ भटहा ककरऊँ चेप । तार न खसै खसै मुँह सेप ॥
 से देखि हसए लागल कमलाक । हलधर धैल हिलाओल गाक ॥
 धेनुक पहिनिहिँ आएल बिचारि । खर रूप तर बन कर रखवारि ॥ ५ ॥
 धर धर सुनि कऊँ परम तेजाएल । रोकितहिँ धनकी फोकितहिँ आएल ॥
 लग भए हललक लात चलाए । हलधर काँ लपटाएल बलाए ॥
 धरि धनकी भरि बलहिँ घुमाए । मारल गै पुन तार लगाए ॥
 हलधर सेँ खल भल फल पाए । पितर भितर मिभरैलाह जाए ॥
 जन दुइ तीनि केँ कृष्णऊँ धैल । धै कऊँ तारक भटहा कैल ॥ १० ॥
 तखन सबऊँ मिलि खाएल तार । आकून जैलाह प्रकहुँक भार ॥

प्रक दिन ब्रज महुँ खेड़ि भल भेलइ । नाम तकर थिक टेलबा टेलइ ॥
 हारि जीति ओहि ओतबै निबह । जे जित तकर भार से उबह ॥
 सुनि परलम्ब धम्म दै आएल । कल सेँ बल कै खेड़ि खेलाएल ॥
 कठिन उठाए कठा दस गेल । बाढ़ल तखन बड़ैह गोठ भेल ॥ १५ ॥
 हलधर हलल गोहारि लगाए । कृष्ण कृष्ण मोहि हरनै जाए ॥
 हरि कह हलधर होउ समधान । कतऊँ ठकल जाए पुरुख पुरान ॥
 के अकि प्रहन प्रँहा काँ हरत । घड़ि प्रक में अपनहिँ सुख करत ॥
 हलधर तखन अपन बल बुभल । प्रकहिँ मुका परलम्बौ जुभल ॥

से देखि दौड़ल गोपक बन्स । गल बल कै बल कर परसन्स ॥ २० ॥

कतो प्रक दिवस जखन बिति गेल । इंदर पुजा दिन उपगत भेल ॥
 तखन दृष्टा पुकलन्हि सभ बूढ़ । कियेक सबज होइ छिअ मति मूढ़ ॥
 इंदर पुजा तब कहलन्हि नन्द । सभटा खण्डल आनंद कन्द ॥
 सुरपति पूजन मन दिअ छाड़ि । से पुज जकरा खेतोवाड़ि ॥
 गोप जाति की कर पुजि देव । भाव भगति सौं गिरिवर सेव ॥ २५ ॥
 कोपित परबत कर उतपात । बाघ सिङ्ग बन धरि कर घात ॥
 बोल दुइ दृष्टा त्रिअ भए कहल । से सुनि इंदरक पूजा रहल ॥
 नाना न्यौज सबज मिलि रचल । पूजल जाए गोवर्द्धन अचल ॥
 प्रक अवतार तखन अवतरल । हसितहिँ परबत सौं प्रगु ढरल ॥
 जत पौलन्हि खेलन्हि सभ बस्तु । भोजन कै कहलन्हि शुभमस्तु ॥ ३० ॥
 बर दै हरि अन्तरहित भेल । दृष्टा सहित सभ आङ्गन गेल ॥
 जखन सुनल सुरपति मख भङ्ग । उठि गेल आगि लहरि गेल अङ्ग ॥
 मानुख जातिक सोखी एत । हमरो काज भङ्ग कै देत ॥
 तखन इंदर लेल मेघ बजाए । सभ कै कहलन्हि गोकुल जाए ॥
 पाथर बजर निरन्तर त्रिष्टि । गोप अलोप करह गै खिष्टि ॥ ३५ ॥
 मेघक त्रिप सम्बरतक नाम । उमड़ि चलल कै लेलक सलाम ॥
 कृष्णन कोटि मेघौ दल चलल । ठनका ठनक तकर उठ अगल ॥
 घूमि घूमि घन लेलक घेरि । भापट भाँप जनि बाज बटेरि ॥
 कत बरनब बरखा रितु पाटि । परलए काल तहँ रह नहिँ घाटि ॥
 गोपी गोप महिसि नेह गाए । जाड़क लेल सभै* टिडुआए ॥ ४० ॥
 पाथर बजरक दाखन चोट । ठामहिँ घूमि मुइल कै गोट ॥
 चाहि दृष्टा कहि कहि लग आव । किछु अब चरन सरन नहिँ पाव ॥
 जनिकर नाम लेत कुट गाए । से अपने प्रहिँ ठामहिँ ठाए ॥
 सिन्दुर बून चोट भेल माटि । अति सुन्दर चूनरि गेल पाटि ॥
 राधा आदि जखन लग आएलि । से देखि दृष्टाक आँखि नोराएलि ॥ ४५ ॥
 मानुख भेख तखन देल छाड़ि । अचल गोवर्द्धन लेलन्हि उपाहि ॥
 गिरिवर कच जखन हरि धैल । गोकुल सकल निराकुल कैल ॥
 परबत खसत तकर डर मानि । को जु रह सभ पङ्कचौ आनि ॥

ई कहि सात दिवस जिउ जाति । उर्द्धबाज रहलाह दिन राति ॥
 गोपी गोप महिसि नेरु गाछ । हरखित भेल गिरि बर तर जाछ ॥ ५० ॥
 तिमिर रहित भेल उगि गेल जोति । क्यो नहिँ बूमल त्रिष्टि भेल ओति ॥
 सात दिवस उतपातक बात । कतज रहल तरुअर नहिँ पात ॥
 आठम दिन मेघौ महि गेल । आहर कै सभ बाहर भेल ॥
 धै देल हरि गिरि ठामहि ठाम । ओहि दिन सौ गिरिधर भेल नाम ॥
 लागल सभ परसन्सा करछ । लगइछि जेहन देब अबतरछ ॥ ५५ ॥
 पुतना तरुअर काली नाम । प्रत दिन प्रह बड़ अजगुत लाग ॥
 छहि बेरि सन्सै लाग बिसेखि । कृष्णक जनम अमानुख लेखि ॥
 केदज थिकाह ककर अबतार । सन्सै बसि भेल सकल गोअर ॥
 सन्सै अन्त कोनज नहिँ पाओल । तखन कृष्ण पुन मोहनि लगाओल ॥
 जे गोवर्द्धन सुन मन लाछ । भव सागर तरि हरि पुर जाछ ॥ ६० ॥
 तनिक कछ भट दै कज कूट । मन मनबोध नितछ सुख लूट ॥ ६१ ॥
 इति मनबोधकविक्रते हरिवंशे भाषायां पंचमोऽध्यायः ॥ ५ ॥

अथ षष्ठोऽध्यायः ।

सारद ससधर जगमग राति । देखि हरि गेलाह मनोरथ माति ॥ १ ॥
 राधा पदुमिनि महरो आप्रलि । एक जुय संग मूलाको लाएलि ॥
 त्रिन्दावन भए कज भेल रास । ओहि दिन राति ओतहि भेल बास ॥
 दुइ गोपिक बिच एक सुरारि । दुइ कृष्णक बिच एकहौक नारि ॥
 एँ परि रासक मंडल भेल । क्यो कह्यो निसि जुग बिति गेल ॥ ५ ॥
 रासक रस हरि कल बड़ मगन । से रस असुर कफलअन्दि भगन ॥
 गोबर गौत सगर लपटाएल । बल बस गाछ सत बितहि आप्रल ॥
 मुन्दले आँखि दहौ दिस दौड़ । परबत सन उच कान्द कन्दौर ॥
 ओहन बरद गोठ कोनज न दायि । देखि रहल सभ क्यो गेल काँपि ॥
 सिङ्ग नाद कै हरि हलु डाटि । लागल फेकछ पाकु कै माटि ॥ १० ॥
 कै सिंग सौं भाइकल मुँदि आँखि । हललन्दि कृष्ण सिङ्ग धर राखि ॥
 हरि धरि भरि बल हलल थकाछ । मारल ठेऊन ओदर तकाछ ॥
 लेलन्दि उपारि सिङ्ग तसु बाम । से लै मारि खसौलन्दि ठाम ॥
 मुइल अरिछ भेल उपकार । उतरछ लागल भूमिक भार ॥

नारद सुनि काँ प्रतबप्र भ्रित्ति । कलह लगप्रवाँ ओ पर भ्रित्ति ॥ १५ ॥
 प्रक दिन कांशक आँगन जाप्र । कहलन्हि सकल बनाप्र बनाप्र ॥
 जै परि प्रहस स्रति गेल माति । बसुदेव बदल कप्रल जेहि भाँति ॥
 जनम दिवस सौं जे हरि कैल । काली दमन गोबर्द्धन धैल ॥
 सभ केँ कहलन्हि करिअ उपाप्र । सत्रु दिनजँ दिन बाढ़ल जाप्र ।
 भक्त भक्त सुभाइकि दिन प्रक खोप्रत । ओ बालक घर घालक होप्रत ॥ २० ॥
 कांश त्रिपति सुनि लागल कहप्र । पहिलहि सौं मोहि दुग दुग रहप्र ॥
 आरे आरे अनुचर तोहि मोर भाप्र । तोरित केसि केँ देसि बजाप्र ॥
 प्रक डिल ओहो मोर मानथि पोस । सभ तह जनकर बाढ़ि भरोस ॥
 ओहि अवसर केसी चल आप्रल । पौरख अपन बऊत बड़राप्रल ॥
 मारब गै हम काल्हि बथान । ई कहि केसी कैल प्रस्थान ॥ २५ ॥
 कांश तखन अकरूड बजाओल । आदि अन्त विरतान्त जनाओल ॥
 सभ जादब खेदब तुअ क्वाड़ि । सिसु दुऊ मारि नन्द लेब डाँड़ि ॥
 गाप्र महिसि सरकार लगाओब । लुटब सकल ब्रज जत धन पाओब ॥
 दुर्मति उग्रसेन बसुदेब । मारब तखन बैर हम लेब ॥
 तुअ अनुमत लप्र भोगब राज । आज करह मोर अभिमत काज ॥ ३० ॥
 करब सहोदर सम परिपाटि । प्रातहिँ आध देस देब बाँटि ॥
 करब चतुर्दिस धनुखा जाग । आबह न्योति बिलम्ब न लाग ॥
 राम कृष्ण बसुदेवक तनप्र । निज भुज बल ककरऊँ नहिँ गनप्र ॥
 चानुर सुष्टि हमर अकि माल । चिन बत गनत हनत ततकाल ॥
 करि बर अकि मोहि कुबलप्र पीड़ । मन कर तौँ दिन कर रथ मीड़ ॥ ३५ ॥
 मानुख भप्र कत पौरख करत । अलप बैस घड़ि प्रक मध मरत ॥
 इंदर जखन देल मेघ पठाप्र । सुनल जे परबत लेलक उठाप्र ॥
 महिखी दधि दुध भ्रित खिरि खाप्र । बढलुक दिन दिन बढ़ले जाप्र ॥
 रथ चढ़ि तोरित करह परस्थान । हमर से हित जे सत्रुहिँ आन ॥
 उठल सभा जे थोर बत भेल । भेल अटकाओ अवेरिक लेल ॥ ४० ॥
 ओदिन दान पति ओतहिँ रहल । अंगिरि लेलन्हि सभ कांशक कहल ॥
 ग्रहन काज करबाँ तँ लागु । भक्ति हेतु किक्कु जानथि आगु ॥
 कै अंगिकार हसल अकरूर । दरसन हेतु हरख मेल पूर ॥
 धन्य धन्य हमे धन मोर भाग । धन रसना धन मोर अनुराग ॥
 बेद उधार जनिक अब तरब । काज तनिक अकि धरनी धरब ॥ ४५ ॥
 खान्ह फारि जनिकर अबतरब । तनिका सौँ हम कहिनी करब ॥
 बलि जनि कलल रूप धप्र खरब । तनिका सौँ हम कहिनी करब ॥

तनि देल कत्री गन के डरब । तनि ढाहल कुल राबन गरब ॥
 भन मनबोध अकरूड़क हरख । बरनिअ तौ बित बारह बरख ॥ ४९ ॥
 इति मनबोधकविक्रते हरिवंशे भाषायां षष्ठो अध्यायः ॥ ६ ॥

अथ सप्तमोऽध्यायः ।

एक दिन गोकुल भै गेल होअ । हउ रूप धै पऊचल मुह बोअ ॥ १ ॥
 भट भट ओठ जीह लउ चाट । खट खट खुरे मेदनि काट ॥
 धैलक तरह जेहन गोठ धीक । कैलक गोप गोठेक टंग भीक ॥
 जपबह रुद्र भखब हम सूद । घोड़ न कूदै बाकर कूद ॥
 जत कुल गोप सबै प्रह भाख । चाहि कृष्ण सरनागत राख ॥ ५ ॥
 दरबरि दौड़ि कृष्ण भेल आगु । केसी दरप देखाबउ लागु ॥
 मुह गोठ बाबि देखौलक खाँत । उजर कोदरि कट घन सन दाँत ॥
 दौड़ल दिनकर देखि जनि राज । हरि कैल आगु अपन एक बाँज ॥
 से गिरि दरि बरि भूमि लोटाएल । कृष्णक महिमा बाँहि मोटाएल ॥
 माँझहि माँझ असुर गेल पाटि । सउ धुर धरनि लिधुर गेल पाटि ॥ १० ॥
 लोचन खनन एकक दुइ चरन । भेल दुइ आध सुकवि से बरन ॥
 मुइल असुर गोठ कुइला गेल । तखन कृष्ण गङ्गा जल लेल ॥
 मेघक पिठि नारद असवार । लागल कहउ बिनउ अनुसार ॥
 प्रहि असुरक डर इंदर डराथि । पचइन्ह नहिँ डर जे किछु खाथि ॥
 तेहन असुर गोठ हँसितहिँ हनल । देवक काज सकल अब बनल ॥ १५ ॥
 मोहि भेल बड़ सुख पुनु सुख पाओब । कंश जुड़ हम परसू आओब ॥
 ई कहि नारद मुनि तिल बओल । कैल अकरूड़क चलएक डौल* ॥
 मथुरहि नहिँ खाएल अकरूड़ । गोकुल पऊचल डुबएत सूर ॥
 दुर सौ देखल नन्द दुआर । लागल देखल बराम गोआर ॥
 ताहि बिच देखल आनंद कन्द । जनि उड़ गन बिच पूरन चन्द ॥ २० ॥
 कनक मुकुट ताहि जगमग जोति । पीअर बसन दसन गज मोति ॥
 नब जलधर अपराजित फूल । अतिसी कुसुम न गातक तूल ॥
 मुकुटक निकट मयूरक पाँखि । सरदक नलिन मलिन कर आँखि ॥
 मकराकित कुण्डल दुऊ कान । से कबि पुर कबि गुरुक समान ॥
 द्वार फ़िदए बयजन्ती नीक । प्रहन दोसर ककरऊँ नहिँ धीक ॥ २५ ॥
 सहस्र बदन होअ तौ रूप कहिअ । देखइक मन होअ देखितहिँ रहिअ ॥

देखि अकरूड़ दूर सौ धाप्र । पैर परलअन्दि प्रेम जनाप्र ॥
 भरि अङ्गम हरि धप्र दुज हाथ । हँसि हँसि कुसल पुकल प्रजनाथ ॥
 उठि हलधर तनि अङ्गम धैल । अपन भक्त बुमि आदर कैल ॥
 कुसल छेम अबसेखन रहल । तखन कांश जित अविनप्र कहल ॥ ३० ॥
 कांशक बध लप्र सारंग पानि । ई कैल ब्यात न्यात लेल मानि ॥
 कहलन्दि कांश हमर कथि बध्य । से अब जैत तीन दिन मध्य ॥
 गोबिंद गमन सुनल ब्रज नारि । जे कलि जतप्र बैसलि ह्विअ हारि ॥
 मूजल चिकुर माथ नहिँ भाँप । लागलि सभ मिलि करप्र बिलाप ॥
 कोपजँ कटु नहिँ भार्खायि कबज । सहयि कहिअ जत हमरा सबज ॥ ३५ ॥
 तनि हरि कैँ अब हरि लप्र चलल । झिदप्र कठोर बुसा लप्र मलल ॥
 प्रह्वन करूर दोसर नहिँ फूर । कौने धैल नाम प्रह्वन अकरूड़ ॥
 सुनल अति अछि रमनि अनूप । जकर पैर सन मोर मुख रूप ॥
 तोहरि हमरि सभि अछि कै गोठि । अब छिनि फिरब प्रकर कौन कोटि ॥
 क्यो करुना करि अमरन तेज । क्यो कर सजल नलिन दल सेज ॥ ४० ॥
 अपनहिँ गाँथल कुसुमक माल । सुनि हरि गमन भरम भेल ब्याल ॥
 क्यो ह्विअ हारि बैसलि भप्र सच्च । क्यो कह रहथु तकर* परिपच्च ॥
 क्यो भेलि जोइसिक अंगना ठाढ़ि । कहिअ तँ सभ अमरन दिअ काढ़ि ॥
 हम भरि जनम सुदिनि भै रहब । पूकथिअन्दि तौँ भदवा कहब ॥
 क्यो कह नन्द महर किप्र मान । गोबर गनेस गोठ किकु नहिँ जान ॥ ४५ ॥
 रँ परि सगर राति गेल बीति । जैत प्रात हरि ऐलाह जीति ॥
 बाइस सप्र फरमाइस भार । दहि दुध घ्रित लप्र चलल गोआर ॥
 नन्द महर जेठरैअति ताहि । एकओ दहि नहिँ लेल अघलाहि ॥
 पुरुबक प्रेम द्रव्य देल काढ़ि । कैलन्दि नहिँ किकु समदा बारि ॥
 ओतहि रहब बा आओब फेरि । कहलन्दि नहिँ किकु चलप्रक बेरि ॥ ५० ॥
 जाबत कथि देखिअ भरि डीठि । थिक पकुआर आँखि काँ पीठि ॥
 ई कहि गोरहा चढ़ि भेलि ठाढ़ि । परभु ता गेलाह कोस सौ बाढ़ि ॥
 प्रक गोरहा चरि चरि गोठि चढ़लि । की रह संच भप्र बिरहक डढ़लि ॥
 सभ गोरहा गोबर भप्र गेल । ओरख फिरि गेल लोरक लेल ॥
 क्यो क्यो गामक बाहर गेलि । आउरि पीअरि बाउरि भेलि ॥ ५५ ॥
 हप्र अति जवन पवन जकाँ गेल । रथ नहिँ स्रभ अवेरि लेल ॥
 तखन सबज मन ई प्रति भसल । कर सौ ससरि परसमनि खसल ॥

मधुपुर रमनि जखन हरि देखति । हरखित जनम कितारथ लेखति ॥
 ई कहि भौखप्र सुमिरप्र गून । हरि बिनु नगर सगर भेल सून ॥
 भन मनबोध दिवस क्ल कौहन । जे क्ल होअओ सजु काँ तेहन ॥ ६० ॥
 इति मनबोधकविक्रते हरिवंशे भाषायां सप्तमेऽध्यायः ॥

अथाष्टमोऽध्यायः ।

जमुना तिर रथ अटकल जाप्र । उतरि दान पति गेलाह नहाप्र ॥ १ ॥
 डुबि कऊँ जल हरि हलधर देखल । सेस सहित अजगुत कै लेखल ॥
 कहप्रक मन किक्कु कैलन्हि जखन । से बुझि बचन थन्हल हरि तखन ॥
 जमुनऊँ दह देखल हरि राम । उपर होअथि तौ ठामहि ठाम ॥
 अस्तुति तखन दान पति कैल । से कहलन्हि हरि बन्सहि पौल ॥ ५ ॥
 परम तोरित जमुना भप्र पार । रचल दान पति अचल विचार ॥
 किक्कु दुरि गप्र प्रभु पैरहिँ चलल । रथ अकखड़ आगु कै हलल ॥
 हरखित भप्र चललाह दुऊँ भाप्र । धोबि घट देखलन्हि किक्कु दुरि जाप्र ॥
 आहँ आहँ रजक रजाक पिअर । बसन दान तोहँ करहँ इअर ॥
 ई सुनि धोबि उठल टिडुआप्र । धोबिनि कहप्र मुख उक दे लगप्र* ॥ १० ॥
 ई सुनि कृष्ण बाज जकाँ कूटि । मारल धोबि धोबिघट लेल लूटि ॥
 धोबिनि कनइत तैजलन्हि घाट । सिंदुर मँटौलन्हि बाटहि बाट ॥
 पिअर पटम्बर हरि बिछि लेल । स्याम बसन हलधर काँ देल ॥
 धोबिघट लुटि देखि गाम लोक हसल । से उपलखन प्रतऊँ प्रति बसल ॥

हरि काँ कुसुमक अधिक सिनेह । देखलन्हि माला कारक गेह ॥ १५ ॥
 ओतऊँ जाप्र कऊँ मंगलन्हि माल । धन ओहि मलिआक क्ल ओ काल ॥
 गुनक मालि क्ल पुन्यक भरल । दिव्य त्रिष्टि भप्र बुझि व्यवहरल ॥
 देखि फुल देख परिचै नहिँ पुछप्र । सन्तति ओकर आज धरि अछप्र ॥

पहिरि माल बर देप्र हरि राम । कैल प्रवेस नरेसक गाम ॥
 लै अनुलेपन कुबुजा ठाढ़ि । देखि हरि देह नेह गेल बाढ़ि ॥ २० ॥

* B. धोबिनि कहलि उका दैह लाग ।

कहलक तौरित चलिअ* मोर गेह । जनम कितारय कप्र मोर देह ॥
 परलाह लाज सङ्ग जेठ भाप्र । किहु कहलन्हि पप्र उकुति बनाप्र ॥
 फुट भप्र कहलन्हि चानन देह । फिरइत आओब हम तुख गेह ॥
 भाब भरलि किहु कहप्र न पार । चानन दै पुन चित्त बिचार ॥
 हम अति दुबरि कुबरि अधलाहि । तँ न हलथि प्रभु मोहि अबगाहि ॥ २५ ॥
 ई बुभि छष्य सौंभ कौ देल । कुबुजा कुटि अबजा† सनि भेल ॥

दइ बेकतिक माफिक हरि कहल । कांशक हन्स कटोरहि रहल ॥
 चन्दन चरचित सगर सरीर । देखइत नगर फिरल जदुबीर ॥
 ई मन कैलन्हि करिअ कुपार । देखलन्हि कांशक अख अगार ॥
 रक्क क पुकलन्हि कै अनुराग । से धनु कतप्र जकर होअ जाग ॥ ३० ॥
 पुक्तिहि बल कौसल कप्र जाप्र । अजअ‡ धनुख कर लेलन्हि उटाप्र ॥
 अति अकलेस देल गुन जोरि । बिस किसलप्र जक दै हलु तोरि ॥
 तकर सबद मधुपुर परिपुरल । से सुनि ककरऊँ किहु नहिँ पुरल ॥
 अटकल नहिँ छिटकल दुऊ भाप्र । रक्क कहल कांश क जाप्र ॥
 अकरुड़क अप्रलहि ऊनि बुभल । धनुख भङ्ग देखि भक्त भक्त सुभल ॥ ३५ ॥
 गोकुल सौं जत अप्रल गोअर । सभ अटकल अकरुड़ दोअर ॥
 हरि पऊनागि कहप्र के पार । क्यो रस भोजन कृतिस परकार ॥
 अकरुड़ रमनिक हरख सराहिअ । बड़ घोघट पुन तकलौ चाहिअ ॥

हरि आगमनक निरनप्र पाप्र । चानुर मुष्टिक लेलक बजाप्र ॥
 कहलन्हि कांश हमर तोहँ माल । अजुकहि दिन लप्र कैल प्रतिपाल ॥ ४० ॥
 करब सहेदर सम परिपाटि । प्रातहिँ आध देश देब बाँटि ॥
 ई सुनि मल्ल§ दुह मनुसाप्रल । जगत बिदित रह मनुस खेलाप्रल ॥
 कहलक सोभ हमर जौं आओत । जिवइत जाप्र प्रकौ नहिँ पाओत ॥
 कांश तखन हथिबाह बजाओल । आदि अन्त बिरितान्त जनाओल ॥
 कहलन्हि कुबलप्र पिड़ लै जानि । द्वार धरबअन्हि भिनसर जानि ॥ ४५ ॥
 जानिअ जेहन तेहन ब्यवहरब । आवप्र नहिँ पाबप्र से करब ॥

* B. चलह । † B. कुबजा । ‡ B. अजोग । § B. माल ।

होइ* प्रात भेल नगर हकार । असम जुझि बुझि सुजन नकार ॥
 कवि मनबोध झिदयाँ प्रह स्रभ । रङ्ग भूमि किछु बरनप्र बूम ॥ ४८ ॥
 इति मनबोधकविक्रते हरिवंशे भाषायामष्टमोऽध्यायः ॥ ८ ॥

अथ नवमोऽध्यायः ।

भरि जोजन लप्र बनल अखाढ़ । देखि सरौ मन बुढ़जक बाढ़ ॥ १ ॥
 हमऊ खेलाइअ कुली करिअ । होइकि बिलम्ब नुआ अब धरिअ ॥
 लेजिम लाख ठमाठइ धैल । निक कोठबारक ढेरी कैल ॥
 कै ठाम भरि गह करिगह खनल । गुदगर काठक मुदगर बनल ॥
 रङ्गभूमि भेल अति परचण्ड । चौदिस मण्डप खण्ड पहण्ड ॥ ५ ॥
 सप्र दुइ तीनि दो महला माँच । सभ बाजन गनिका कऊ नाँच ॥
 आगर कूल सील जे जेहन । माँच बनावक तकरा तेहन ॥
 अपन माँच भेल जोजन ठाढ़ । चढ़ब सिढ़ी बिनु से बड़ गाढ़ ॥
 कीदौँ कैल कंश उँच माँच । कालक हाथ कतऊ कोओ बाँच ॥
 जाबत होअ सभ लोक बटेर । आप्रल आप्रल भै गेल शेर ॥ १० ॥
 कनक सुकुट भलकलअन्दि द्वार । नन्द आदि सभ सङ्ग गोआर ॥
 हलल मचाउति हाथी हलल । घड़ि प्रक कृष्ण खेलैलन्दि खुलल ॥
 गहि गज दन्त उपाड़ल हाथ । से लप्र हस्ति हनल ब्रजनाथ ॥
 कुबलप्र पीड़ भीड़ जकाँ परल । से देखि कऊँ कंशक बफा भरल ॥
 करिबर दन्त बरायुध हाथ । आगु चलल हरि हलधर साथ ॥ १५ ॥
 सुर नागरि गोकुल अबतरलि । धन जन भरलि बड़ी अहि गरलि ॥
 नप्रन निरखि नब नेह जनाव । मन मन कंशक मरन मनाव ॥
 जिवइत रहत सभै सुख खोअ । मर मुड़हा तँ सभ भल होअ ॥
 पुरबधु सङ्ग देवकि भेलि ठाढ़ि । नप्रन बरिस जलधर तहँ बाढ़ि ॥
 सुत सुख देखि पयोधर भरल । अठल घटल नहिँ किछु दुध ढरल ॥ २० ॥
 अकखड़ सङ्ग ठाढ़ बसुदेव । अन्तहिँ तनप्र बदन देखि लेब ॥
 आगु दवाप्र जाप्र नर चारि । कहलन्दि कृष्ण सभा परचारि ॥
 चानुर अति बल हम अति नरम । ऊनि हम पकड़ा अनुचित परम ॥
 सुनल सभा जन मानल लाज । कंशक डर को किछु नहिँ बाज ॥

तखन कहल पुन सारंग पानि । फ़िदफ़ बिचारि बचन भेल हानि ॥ २५ ॥
 आज कुटत अन्यायिक परिक । हमऊँ प्रहन नहिँ खेला घरक ॥
 समग्र न जाब सहिअ हम ताब । के अबइकि से आवओ आव ॥
 मारल ताल उठल घहराप्र । अठकर हारी जिति ठहराप्र ॥
 प्रक पैर सोभ पाकु कै लेल । बाम ठेऊन मोरि आगाँ देल ॥
 कै बल दाप रोपल तेहि हाथ । पकड़ऊ निपुन परम ब्रजनाथ ॥ ३० ॥
 अरौ अधिक कै सरौ खेलाप्रल । करौ पिसान से कहितँहि आप्रल ॥
 मोटि मोटि बाँहिलगाओल माटि । कुम्भकरन जहँ रह नहिँ घाटि ॥
 कल बलमन्त जाति अति दुष्टि । घड़ि प्रक बड़ भेल मुछा मुष्टि ॥
 माथ भिराव हाथ देख कान्ह । कै बेरि खाली गरदनि बान्ह ॥
 बाऊ बली प्रक हथ्यो गोत । कानदऊ दाओ सिखौलक ओत ॥ ३५ ॥
 ओ धर दाओ छषा देखि आड़ । जानि असक्य बक्क दप्र क्राड़ ॥
 छषा धरथि पुन ओहो जो गाब । से देखि सुजनक फ़िदफ़ जुड़ाब ॥
 यँ परि पकड़ा भेल बड़ि काल । पुन होअ भाउरि पुन होअ ताल ॥
 छषा रंगि नट पर देल क्राड़ि । हललन्हि भटपट भपटि पक्राड़ि ॥
 सोनित बजत चलल मुँह नाक । भै गेल भूमि बिधा भरि पाँक ॥ ४० ॥
 चानुर मल्ल हल्ल भप्र मुइल । की जिव जाहि कोपि हरि कुइल ॥
 जे परिहरि चानुर काँ बनल । से परि मुष्टिक हलधर हनल ॥
 से देखि रोखल तोखल माल । के बल दाप उठल दप्र ताल ॥
 तोखल मारि कंश लग गेल । पच्छी किदऊ पवन हरि भेल ॥
 मचहि उपर सच मचहि पक्राड़ि । हेठ खसौलन्हि हलल न क्राड़ि ॥ ४५ ॥
 बिस्वरूप भर रति प्रक देल । कंशक प्रान पाँहि दप्र गेल ॥
 हिरदप्र ओकर समुभि खिसिआप्र । गहि कच किछु दुरि लेल घिसिआप्र ॥
 से देखि दौड़ल दरप देखाप्र । नाम सुदामा कंशक भाप्र ॥
 बिचहि भपटि कऊ हलधर धैल । हँसितहि तनि पुन ओहो परि कैल ॥
 मुइल पाँच जन बाँचल आन । रङ्ग भूमि भेल अति समसान ॥ ५० ॥
 कंशक मा बऊ भाबऊ आप्रलि । कै करुना कत भूमि लोटाप्रलि ॥
 कान कोक मर लोकक शेर । हरिऊँक आँखि आप्रल भरि नेर ॥
 बोध भरोस हरिहिँ पुन देल । चललाह सख अपर्तिभ भेल ॥
 को होअ कखन जानि नहिँ जाप्र । तात तोरित अब चलु अगुआप्र ॥
 जाबत हम पुन पऊचिअ आप्र । देखब दुबरि नहिँ होअ मोरि माप्र ॥ ५५ ॥

ई कहि नन्द बिदा हरि कैल । कोटि रतन देल कांशक धैल ॥
 किछु दुरि आगु जाइ हरि राम । तात जननि पद कैल परनाम ॥
 प्रत दिन कल सेवा बड़ बाध । कृपा करव ई मोर अपराध ॥
 ई कल कठिन जे बाँचत प्रान । कांशक हाथ हमर कैत प्रान ॥
 पूरव गुन किछु सुमिरन भेल । देवकि सहित पैर परि गेल ॥ ६० ॥
 बुझि बसुदेव बज्जत गुन गाओल । तखन कृष्ण पुन मोहनि लगाओल ॥
 सबज्ज जथोचित कैल परनाम । जत कल जदुवन्सी ओहि ठाम ॥
 धैरज द्रुम बसुदेवक फरल । परल बरह्म गोट पैराहँ परल ॥
 उग्रसेन* केँ तखन अनाइ । बान्ह काटाओल बिनइ जनाइ ॥
 जदुकुल जैअओ जजातिक खाप । तकर करिअ जुन मन अनुताप ॥ ६५ ॥
 हम हलधर अनुचर किअ जकर । चौदह भुवन ऊकुम चल तकर ॥
 राज सिंघासन चौर दराइ । उग्रसेन* सिर कृत्र धराइ ॥
 दीनक बन्धु अनाथक नाथ । सुखदाइक प्रक खीब्रजनाथ ॥
 कृष्ण कतूहल एकर नाम । संकष्ट दूरि करथु खीराम ॥
 भन मनबोध कांश बध कहल । अग्रिम सो पुन कहबाँ रहल ॥ ७० ॥
 इति मनबोधकविद्वते हरिवंशे भाषायां नवमोऽध्यायः ॥ ८ ॥

अथ दशमोऽध्यायः ।

अलि परापति कांशक नारि । जरासिन्धु काँ दूइ कुमारि ॥ १ ॥
 बैधव भाव बज्जत बेकताइ । तात भवन दुजँ पजँचलि धाइ ॥
 कइ करना कत लागलि कहइ । जे सुन तकर न धैरज रहइ ॥
 सिंदुर हरल मोर नन्दक पूत । जे नै होमइ बुझ ककरजँ बूत ॥
 ससि खसि परथि समुद्र सुखाथि । मेरु ठाम तजि अनतइ जाथि ॥ ५ ॥
 श्वरु होअ छेमइ बरु पार । लठिधर गवार महारथि मार ॥
 पानिपान हम करव न ताव । खामि बैर हम लेव न जाव ॥
 जरासिन्धु निप धैरज देल । कटक बटोरल अटकर भेल ॥
 सोरठ भोरठ औ गढ़पाल । अङ्ग बङ्ग आपल नेपाल ॥
 बेतिआ तिरज्जति और जे देस । चिपति हँकारल सकल नरैस ॥ १० ॥
 अटल न कटक कोट कल जतज्ज । मगइ जगह नजिँ रहले कतज्ज ॥

फौज मोटाप्रल दिन दस बीस । सभ बहुराप्रल मथरा दीस ॥
 रज भरि दिनकर दरसन कुटल । कमठक अमठ धन्य नहिं फुटल ॥
 इन्दु न बिन्दु न महि नहिं अन्न । तल भेल जलनिधि सरनापन्न ॥
 साँभ समप्र लसकर उठ गरद । से सुनि होअप्र त्रिपति मन दरद ॥ १५ ॥
 बैत हाथ बुढ़ २ चोपदार । चङ्गदिसि चुप २ करप्र पुकार ॥
 अटकल कटक कोट जनि घेरि । जनि भपटलअन्हि बाज कटेरि ॥
 हरि सौं द्वारमान कौल अरज । नगरक निकट नगोरा गरज ॥
 लसकर मान कहप्र के पार । उमड़ि आप्रल अक्कि जनि सन्सार ॥
 से देखि सभ कै बफादर भरल । सभ जादब मुँह फुफारी परल ॥ २० ॥
 प्रक पै हरखित सी ब्रजराज । भूमिक भार उतारब आज ॥
 हरि छिप्र हरख छिदप्र अनुमानि । त्रिढ़ जप्र होप्रत सबज हलु जानि ॥
 अपन २ लप्र २ हथिआर । आप्रल जादब सभ भै तैआर ॥
 उग्रसेन उडब अकहूर । जगत बिदित कित बरमाहूर ॥
 अति अकहूर बनल सत बीर । अरजुन सम रथ राजित धीर ॥ २५ ॥
 जूधिक बचन करप्र सभ लागु । सहित सरीर बीर रस जागु ॥
 दाहक बड़ रथ लेलह साज । अपनहिं अपन दुन्दुभि बाज ॥
 सुभ रथ संग हरि बाहर भेल । बिप्र बर्ग सभ आसिख देल ॥
 हसि हलधर लेलन्हि गै पान । रंग सुमि प्रहन दोसर के आन ॥
 प्रह कल परम दुष्ट मोर जान । जेहन बनत से कर अनुमान ॥ ३० ॥
 कदगुन कै मदगुन सौं लागु । भेलाह हलायुध जुध बर आगु ॥
 जोड़हिं जोड़ लागि गेल जूधि । जे ने होप्र किङ्कु धरम विरूधि ॥
 जरासिन्धु हलधर सौं लागु । दोसर आन होप्रत के आगु ॥
 त्रिपति गदा लेल गदा जुभाइ । लै मुसलायुध मुसल उठाइ ॥
 होइत अमोघ मोघ कप्र जानि । हेमप्र लागल अकासक बानि ॥ ३५ ॥
 क्मिअर हलधर अब आप्र । ऊनकज्ज मारक रचल उपाप्र ॥
 सुनि महि रमन ब्रजित भै गेल । मङ्गल बचन कुमङ्गल भेल ॥
 रन तजि नरपति चलल पराप्र । देल मुसलायुध मुसल नड़ाप्र ॥
 जै भेल बलक खलक भेल भङ्ग । बिचलल अङ्ग बङ्ग तैलङ्ग ॥
 ओहि दिन हरि जुधि कैल असीम । सै अरजुन जनि दुइ सै भीम ॥ ४० ॥
 हरि सौं अरि मन भरि कै लड़ल । आगि उकलि जनि फनिगा पड़ल ॥
 भूमिक भार उतारप्र लाप्र । हरि जत हन तत गनलो ने जाप्र ॥

कतोप्रक रनपति घर दिस भेल । बाँचल रहल से मारल गेल ॥
 बिचलल केओ नहिँ पाछ हरि येघ । जादव गन भेल भादव मेघ ॥
 लागल करछ बान जनु त्रिष्टि । अरि मन छैछ लोप भेल छिष्टि ॥ ४५ ॥
 जादव गन सौं जे त्रिप लागु । से त्रिप घरम दुआरी लागु ॥
 फिरि गेल फौज सेख जे रहल । लिधुर बिधुर सरिता से बहल ॥
 भासल द्राल काकु सन लाग । साँप भरम जनु भासह पाग ॥
 तँ हरि कोइलन्हि होछ उपकार । पुनि बटोरताह भूमिक भार ॥
 अक्लाह मोट कोट जे भेल । कोट गेलाह नहिँ लाजक लेल ॥ ५० ॥
 अबिन काल सभ बिर बटुराछ । पुनि निरलज सभ पऊँचल आछ ॥
 बीछि बान कै फल सभ पाछ । जतहिँ सबारि ततहिँ लै जाछ ॥
 लागल भुभुछ फेरि भेल भङ्ग । न रहल सङ्ग न रङ्ग अनङ्ग ॥
 चढ़ि कज्ज आबधि हारथि फेरि । यँ परि जुध भेल पन्नह बेरि ॥
 भन मनबोध मगहपति फिरल । घनर जे ऐलाह से मरल ॥ ५५ ॥

इति मनबोधकविक्रते हरिवंशे भाषायां दशमोऽध्यायः ॥ १० ॥

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Some Hindí Folksongs from the Panjáb.—By LIEUT. R. C. TEMPLE,
B. S. C., F. R. G. S., M. R. A. S., &c.

I have a small collection of 64 songs and catches popularly sung in the Panjáb, especially in the Hill District of Kángará and in the neighbouring small Hill State of Chambá. They are, as far as I can gather, genuine Panjábí Folklore and have not been previously reduced to writing. As they contain many strange idioms and apparently hitherto unrecorded phrases and words they appear to be worthy of a place in the pages of this Journal.

The language in some of them is Hindí, but many of them are in the current village Panjábí of the day. Those from Kángará and Chambá, though containing dialectic words and forms, do not differ in the main in language from those from the plains of the Panjáb.

In the "Calcutta Review" for the present year I have treated these songs from a sociological point of view, giving metrical renderings of them all and endeavouring to show how they explain the manners, customs and thoughts of those who composed and sing them. I will therefore here confine myself to viewing them as specimens of language.

I give them here in the Roman character, being that in which they were recorded. I have been moved, moreover, to this course because of the unsatisfactory nature of "munshis'" ideas regarding the "improvement" of the vulgarisms of folklore, which render it unsafe to entrust any of them, even natives of the neighbourhood, with the task of recording songs in Nágari, Gurmukhí, or Persian characters.*

* In this paper adjunct consonants are distinguished from conjunct consonants by being divided by an apostrophe, thus mil'ná = मिलना, but unhán = उन्हाँ. [See Hoernle's Gaudian Grammar, §§ 3-6. Ed.]

These catches and songs refer to the following subjects, (1) religion, (2) religious customs, (3) love, (4) marriage customs, (5) home customs, (6) nursery rhymes, (7) localities, (8) riddles and *facetiae*, (9) politics. I have divided them for convenience into the above heads, merely signifying at the foot of each song where I got it from.

Circumstances have obliged me to rest content with this small collection for the present, but I hope some day to be able to send the Society the fruits of extended researches in this direction.

To each song is attached a rendering and as full notes grammatical and linguistic as I am able to give; but before giving the songs themselves, I will add a few words on the more prominent points in grammar that occur. A short vocabulary also of the more important words to be found in the songs will be added. With regard to the grammatical peculiarities, however, I will not do much more than merely collect them and point them out. The numbers which will be found attached to the quotations refer to the numbers of the songs whence they are gathered, and will enable the reader to read the context at once.

A few quotations in their appropriate places will also be found marked R. R., which I have added from a MS. lately placed at my disposal, through the kindness of Mr. Delmerick of the Panjáb Commission. This MS. relates, in a series of disconnected tales, the legendary sayings and doings of Rájá Rasálu (R. R.), son of Rájá Sáliváhan of Siálkot and brother of Púran Bhagat, a personage of wide renown in Panjábí legends. The tales purport to have been taken down direct from the lips of Panjáb peasants, unfortunately by an ignorant munshí. They consist of prose stories interspersed with bits of village Panjábí verse. These last luckily the munshí could not mar and they are of great linguistic value, but the prose he has so injured with attempts at Urdú, very much Persianised, with which language he was apparently not very familiar, that it is useless for any scientific purpose. My notes were taken from the verses as my reading of the MS. proceeded.

Also a small tract on Panjábí grammar by a member of the Lúdiáná Mission, 1851, will be quoted occasionally as the Panj. Gram.

Grammatical Notes.

(a) The following pronominal forms occur :

Asán, we, I. 18, 60, etc., etc., this is ordinary Panjábí.

Appú, thou, you. 20 : for *úp*.

Morá, my. 36 : also found in Hindí.

Tún, thou, *passim* : this is ordinary Panjábí.

Tain, thou, *passim*. According to the Panj. Gram. *tain* is the inflected form of the case of the agent and = *tú ne*; thus,

main, I. Ag. main, by me : asín, by us.
 tūn, thou Ag. tain, by thee : tusín, by you.
 uh, oh, he. Ag. un, on, by him : unhín, onhín, by them.
 ih, eh, this. Ag. in, en, ain, by this : inín, inhín, enhín, ainhín,
 by these.
 jo, who. Ag. jin, by whom, (see also song No. 11). jinín, jinhín,
 by whom.

so, *correl.* Ag. tin : tinín, tinhín.

kaun, who? Ag. kin, by whom? kinhín, by whom? *Of.* also

Kellogg's paradigms : *Hindí Gram.* pp. 126—135.

sádá, our, my, 48 : common Panjábí.

uh, he. 11. ordinary Panjábí.

unhán, those, them. 45. Panjábí.

eh, this. 9, 56. Panjábí.

tinhán, *correl.* 45, these, those, the. Panjábí.

seh (= uh) that, he. 19, 45. There is also a Panjábí dialectic form so.

kuní (= kaun), who? 56.

Of the above, tain, unhán, tinhán, morá should probably be looked on as inflections. The following are instances of inflected forms :*

maite, from me, 56 : the Panj. Gram. gives mete and maithon as the regular inflections.

mainún, to me, 50. ordinary Panjábí.

min'jo, (main + jo). See below (*c*), to me. 56.

os, that, 29 : according to the Panj. Gram. us and oh are the ordinary inflected forms.

jit, which, 25, 60. Similarly it, ut, kit? in the Kángará Hills.

jih'te, from which, 50 : ordinary Panjábí : *Of.* Kellogg. *Hind. Gram.* p. 132.

kit, which? 25. See above jit.

kus, which? 56 : for kis?

kusí, any one, 56 : for kisí.

Examples of pronominal adverbs are—

jahlú—tahlú, 15 : when—then.

kihán? how? 21, 56, etc., ordinary Panjábí.

kudhí, whence? 23.

kuthú, whither? 27.

kithe, where? 51 : Panjábí.

tithú, there, 59.

kityo, wherever, 25 : = kití, Panjábí.

* [Divide mai-te, me-te, mai-thon, mai-nún, jih-te ; these are not inflected forms but contain the ordinary postpositions te, thon, nún ; see Hoernle's *Gaudian Grammar*, § 374. *Ed.*]

kajo, why? 34: = (?) Hindí káheko? Thus, Hindí kyá in infl. becomes káhe: kyá Hindí = Panj. kí or kiá, which in infl. becomes káh or kás. Then kajo = káh + jo (see below (c)) = Panj. káh'nún, = Hind. káheko.

The change of *i* to *u* in the words kus? kusí? kuní? kudhí? kuthú? is noticeable.

(b) The forms which occur in the songs of the inflectional postpositions of the genitive for the dá, de, dí, dián and dián of Panjábí are:

masc. dá, de, *passim*: den, 21, 45, 59: diyé, 22: díyán, 23.

fem. dí, *passim*: diyá, 18: dyán 38: diyán, 40.

These do not differ essentially from the usual custom, which is this: Masc. sing. dá: obliq. de: voc. de, diá: plu. de, dián: voc. dío. Fem. sing. dí: voc. dí, dié: plu. dián: voc. dío.

(c) A remarkable inflectional postposition of the dative and objective cases is *jo*, perhaps connected with dá, de of Panj. through the forms diá, die. It has been already seen in min'jo, to me, occurring thus in song 56.*

Hun min'jo kihán mil'ne? How can they meet me now? Also in kajo, why? occurring in song 34, thus

tain kajo lúí thí is kane prít? why did you bring your love to this one? I collect every other instance that occurs. Thus—

(1) tote jo main dudh-bhat din'nín, mainán jo ghyo chúriyán: I give milk-and-rice to the parrot, (and) ghí and crumbs to the mainá. 5.

(2) Sadásibe jo munái láh: bring blandishments to the Eternal S'iva 15.

(3) Asán Gugge diyá játrá jo jáná, we must make a pilgrimage to Guggá. 18.

(4) Ammán jo puchhaní: asking my mother. 23.

(5) Sassú jo puchhaní: asking my mother-in-law. 23.

(6) Janghán jo jikk: shampoo my thighs. 23.

(7) Asán jo kusí diyán nahín gar'ján? There is no necessity (غرض) of any one to me (I love nobody) 31.

(8) Kuttyán jo pángdí churí: I will throw cakes to the dogs. 45.

(9) Hatán jo dauryá: ran to the shops. 46.

(10) Aggí jo dauryá: ran to the fire. 46.

(11) Unhán jo pái-gái ap'ní: to them had befallen their own (troubles). 47.

(d) The postpositions of inflection are used, but are as frequently dropped: see Kellogg, sec. 152, pp. 78, 79. I am assured that in the Káugrá Hills this is as common in every day speech as in the poetry. The agent with *ne* is by many ordinarily omitted, as ghoreñ khádhá, the horse eat:

* [Compare the Sindhí genitive postposition *jo* masc., *ji* fem. On their derivation see Hoernle's *Gaudian Grammar*, § 377, p. 239. Ed.]

ghoríán khádhá, the mare eat. The Panj. Gram. says that the agent with *ne* and the postpos. of inflection are frequently omitted in ordinary Panjábí.

(e) The following cases of nominal singular inflection are worthy of record:

Masc. in e.

bápúe puchhaní, asking father : 23.

ghare bich, in the house : 22, 38, 59.

báge diyán, of the garden : 23.

nimbúe dá chár, pickle of limes : 40; (but cf. nimbúá, 46).

ghíúe dá, of *ghí* (ghíú), 47.

rukkhe par, on a tree (rukkh), 63.

masc. in íye and ye.

pansúriyé den hát, the shop of the druggist : 21.

dárúye diyán katoriyán, cups of wine : 41.

but compare here bháiyá, brother, 48 and chérebáliá, gaily-turbaned, 60.

fem. in íyá.

dáliyá, in the hedge, 5.

tháliyá, on the plate, 23.

pag'riyá, 20. objective : turban.

baryá, of a year, 32.

goriyá den háth, the hand of the beauty, 21.

pakhiyá, on the fan, 31.

chhamáyá, of six months, 32.

lárhiá satyá, threw it into the field, 47.

Voc. masc. in iyá, and fem. in e.

The masc. occurs in 35 and the fem. in 23, 25, 32, 45, 48, 49, 58.

They are all ordinary Panjábí forms and require no further remark here.

(f) The ordinary Panjábí plural inflection of masc. nouns ending in a consonant in the oblique cases is *án* or *íán*; for those ending in a vowel it is *án* and for those ending in *u* it is *wán*. Cf. the Márwáří, Mewáří and Kumáoní custom : Kellogg. p. 80.

This custom is borne out by the plu. forms occurring in the songs, even in those cases where the agent with *ne* and the appropriate postpositions are omitted as above noted. See 22, 23, 39, 43, 44, 45, 46, 60.

As in standard Hindí, Panjábí nouns ending in nasalized vowels preserve the *anuswára* throughout the declension : otherwise masc. nom. and objective plural usually end in *e*. This is an exception.

kháyán, be bírá, bare bare gráhen, eat, O brother, large, large mouthfuls, 44.

It is probably, however, to be referred to the nasalized declension noticed below.

(g) The ordinary Panjábí plural inflection of fem. nouns ending in *á* in the oblique cases is *ían*: for those ending in *u* it is *wán*, and for all others it is *án*. In the songs the fem. plu. forms are usually regular, even when the inflectional postpos. are dropped. See 5, 20, 23, 41. Here is an exception,

rátín bariyán, (the) nights (are) long 5.

But like *gráhen* above, this should probably be referred to the nasalized declension.

(h) The usual rule of declension appears to be in Hindí and the allied tongues that *anusúcára* is preserved in the singular inflected forms only when it is present in the nominative. In the Kángará Hills, however, there appears to be a regular form of nasalized declension. We have seen signs already of it in *ghorén khádhá* = *ghore ne kháyá*, masc. and in *ghorían khádhá* = *ghorí ne kháyá*, fem.; also in *den* = Panj. *de*, of: and in *rátín*, nights, fem. and *gráhen*, mouthfuls, masc.

All the instances of masc. nasalized inflection are in *en*, perhaps a form connected with the infl. in *e*, above noted,* and it is to be noted that in nearly every case of it the agent with *ne* or the inflectional postpos. has been omitted.

bahí-já pinj'ren, sit in the cage, 15.

jáyán tún pánien, go thou for water, 23.

tere munhen dikhí-karí, seeing thy face, 26.

chacharúen dittá ták, the tick gave a bite, 38.

bágen gájar múlí, carrots and radishes of the garden, 39.

Rámen dárí, Rámá's wife, 39.

peten tumb hoí, there has been a pain in (her) stomach, 40.

bharo tñand'ren pánien ! fill with cold water ! 44.

múlen liyá, ordinary Hill expression for *mol líá*, = Panj. *mul líá*, (I) bought, 46.

kothen charhi, climbing on to the roof (*kothá* = *bálá khána*), 46.

soh'ren pak'rí dāng jethen mung'rí, father-in-law seized a stick, brother-in-law a mallet, 47.

chalyá munthen sab'j kumán, walked with a green bow on (his) shoulder, 48.

Gaddien andá aīr, the flock of the shepherd came, *or* (?) the shepherd brought his flock, 56.

Anjaniyán den melen, at Anjaná's fair, 59.

khinnuen dí, of the ball, 60.

Bhaunen diyán, of Bhaun (Kángará), 60.

hathen sothí, a stick in (your) hand, 60.

* [The so-called nasalized inflection in *en*, as well as the inflection in *e*, are simply relics of ancient case-terminations: so also the ablative inflection *on* (p. 167); see Hoernle's *Gaudian Grammar*, pp. 230, 242, also p. 208, *et passim*. Ed.]

The ordinary masc. voc. in Panjábí ends in *í* or *á*, but in the songs in the case of an imported Arabic corruption *anuswára* is added.

muhímíyán be ! O my brave one, 23.

The fem. nasalized infl. end in *án*, *ín* and *íán*, perhaps connected with the *iyá* above noted. Thus,

of án.

mainán jo, to the *mainá*, 5.

ammán jo, to (my) mother, 23.

ammán den pás, near (my) mother, 45.

of ín.

gálín kaḍḍhe, should they cast out abuse, 22.

saṛ'kín saṛ'kín jáná, going along the road, 60.

of íán, íyán, iyán, etc.

lúryán mári mirk, the wife made a sign, 38.

láriyán khádá, the wife eat, 40 (*khádhá*, *káhl'dá* and *khádá* are common Panj. forms of the perf. indef. of *kháuná*, to eat).

billián chhikkyá, the cat sneezed, 47.

Anjaniyán den melen, at Anjauá's fair, 59.

The following are instances of similar nasalization of fem. voc. inflections. The usual rule is in Panjábí that the voc. infl. has no *anuswára* unless it occurs in the nominative also. The fem. voc. sing. usually ends in *e*: the plu. in *o*.

soh'nien ní, O beauty, 15, 18.

bo bhainen, O sister, 45.

tún najo yánien, thou young beauty, 23.

bhainon, O sisters, 46.

(i) The Panjábí ablative inflection *on* is well known and is well exhibited in song No 46.

dhuron Láhoron nimbu áyá, the limes came from Lahore from afar.

It is commonly added to postpositional forms in an abl. sense; *e. g.*, *andaron*, from within; *uppuron*, from above; *sáhl'm'union* (साहमनिश्चै), from in front of, &c. In song No. 58 it occurs in a very notable word as an intensive termination, *nahinon*, altogether not.

Gaddí terá ajj marhe bieh nahinon, to-day thy husband (shepherd) is altogether not in the house, 58.

(j) A connected nasalization of postpositional forms (Kellogg's prepositions, pp. 272-274) is exhibited in *kanen*, with, 22: *agen*, in front, 45: *pichhen*, behind, 60.

And of enclitics and conjunctions in *mhín* (महीं = *bhí*), also, 20: *ákhen*, indeed, 59.

(k) The ordinary adjectival inflections in Panjábí, where they occur,

are masc. sing. *e*; fem., *í*: masc. plu., *ían*; fem., *ían*. But in these songs the fem. infl. in *iyá* above noted in the nouns is found in the adj. as well. Thus,

bariyá parátí, a large plate, 44.

meryá nimbuá, my little lime, 46.

Nasalized forms of this inflection are

fem. sing. bhukiyán, hungry and nangiyán, naked, 22.

ap'niyán sassú, thy own mother-in-law, 45.

In song No. 25 two remarkable nasalized adjectival forms occur, gher'wán and pher'wán, which appear from the context to be indeclinable; as also perhaps garib'nán, meek, 48, should be considered. Thand'ren pánieñ, with cold water, 44, is a clear case of masc. nasalized inflection.

The ordinary infl. in Panjábí for numeral adjectives is *n* and *án*, as usually in Hindí. Thus,

bárán barhiyán, twelve years, 23.

(1) Mr. Kellogg, sec. 473, pp. 253-254, derives the modern Hindí diminutives in *ak*, *ká*, *iká*, *kí*; *iyá*, *í*; *vá*, *wá*; from the Sanskrit affix *aka*.* In the songs gad'wá, a little pot, 44, and nimbuá, a little lime, 46, occur, but also several undoubted diminutives occur ending in *ú*, which are (?) probably connected with the above.

chhok'rú (a little son) a widow's son, an orphan: used also in depreciation, 15.

gadokh'rú, a little goat, a kid, 15.

cholú, a little cloak, 19.

topú, a little cap, 19.

khinnú, a little ball, 51.

To this class also should probably be referred

chacharú, a tick or flea, 38.

maung'nú, a bug, 38.

bhañdorú, a bee, 59.

Perhaps in the same connection should be classed the nouns denoting familiarity or terms of affection, such as the names Rámú, Par'sú, Chhajjá, &c., &c., and the Panjábí words piú, father; máún, mother; bharáú, brother, &c. In these songs occur—

man-rakhú, keeper of the heart, lover, 25.

chit-rakhú, keeper of the heart, lover, 27.

appú, thou, 23.

sassú, mother-in-law, 23.

bápú, father, 23.

* Many of Mr. Kellogg's statements are due to Dr. Hoernle's discoveries. I quote Mr. Kellogg because I have not Dr. Hoernle's works by me to refer to. [See his *Gaudian Grammar*, §§ 195-206, pp. 97-104. Ed.]

In the Panjáb there is a tendency to change nouns ending í to íú or ío. Thus,

ghí to ghíú, gheú and ghyo, 5.
jí, life, to jíú, 25.

In R. R. occurs ghíú for ghí: gurú jíú for gurú jí: dhíú, daughter, for dhí. Piú, father, in ordinary Panjábí is sometimes also pe or pí, as mápe, mání and máníán, parents.

In song No. 25 there is also a similar remarkable change in a pronominal adverb.

kityo for kití, wherever, 25.

(m) The dialectic verb must always be difficult of treatment. The following are attempts at solving some of the forms that occur in these songs.

Mr. Platt, *Hindústání Grammar*, p. 329, remarks that Panjábí regularly uses the gerund or verbal noun, (practically the infinitive in the modern Aryan languages of India), as a gerundive or verbal adjective, and that Sindhí has a distinct gerundive. Mr. Kellogg, pp. 308-310, sec. 595 (1) (2), shows the infin. being used both as a gerund and as a gerundive. In both works the infin. is the only form of gerund or gerundive.* The Panj. Gram. gives two distinct forms of gerund, (or gerundive according to syntactical use): one following the form of the infin. and the other usually that of the perf. participle. *E. g.*, root, *ghall*, send; infin. or gerund, *ghall'ndá*, to send; gerund, *ghalliá*, sending, to send. The two forms of gerund probably really exist, and for the present purpose I will call them the gerund in *ndá* and the gerund in *íá*.

As instances of the use of the gerund in *ndá* the Panj. Gram. gives—
kachíchián lainíán hon'gíán, *lit.*, gnashings of teeth will be (to be) taken.

khabar kar'ní, to make news (announce).

dúr ho jání, to be removed (*lit.*, to become far).

All of which show its use as a gerundive and curiously enough the Panj. Gram. gives no instances of its use as a pure gerund, though this is as common as in Hindí.

Of the use of the gerund in *íá* it quotes

merá bharáú merí jamín utte hawelí pái cháh'ndá hai, my brother wishes a house to be built (pái, gerund in *íá*, fem. form from páuní, Panj., to place, build) on my ground.

* [See Hoernle's *Gaudian Grammar*, §§ 308-314, 315-321, pp. 145-154, where the identity of the so-called infinitive, gerund, gerundive and verbal noun in the Northern Indian languages is fully shown. *Ed.*]

asán pothián paṛhiá kar'de hán, we are in the habit of reading books.

In the former it is apparently used as a gerundive, in the latter as a gerund. An example of the gerund in *ia* in the songs is

main púri chhakí líá, I took the cake to taste, (eat) 47.

Here chhakí agrees with púri as a gerundive.

The above analyses may be thought wrong and the verbs merely looked on as compounds, like páyá cháh'tá hai, paṛhá kar'te hain and chhak lí, as they would appear in Hindí. But see Kellogg's doubts on the participial nature of the first terms of such compounds at p. 192, note, where he inclines to the belief that there is a gerund in *á* as well as in *ná* in Hindí.* His observation (c) on the next page 193, that cháh'ná and kar'ná with jáná take jáyá in place of gayá and with mar'ná take mará in place of múá, exactly bears out the analysis of the Panj. Gram. which makes jáiá the gerund and giá the perf. part. of jáuná and mariá the gerund and múiá the perf. part. of mar'ná. However, below will be exhibited many instances of a conjunctive participle in *i* in these songs and *perhaps* the above forms pái cháh'ndá hai and chhakí líá should be looked upon as instances of it.

Lastly I would quote the following every day idioms, which exist also in Hindí and Urdú, from the Panj. Gram. in support of the argument of the existence of the gerunds in *ná* and *ia*.

mete khará honá nahín jándá, I cannot stop; *lit.* to stand still does not go (is not) by me.

mete kháiá nahín jándá, I cannot eat, *lit.* eating does not go (is not) by me.

(n) The usual terminations of the perf. and imperf. participles in Panjábí are imperf. *dá* or *ndá* and perf. *íá*, but the imperf. has also a form *ná*,† which, according to the Panj. Gram. differs so far from the infin. in that it is always *ná*, whereas the infin. is *ná* and alternatively *ndá*. *E. g.*, imperf. ghall'dá or ghall'ná, sending : perf. ghalliá, sent : whence present imperf. tense, main ghall'dá hán or main ghall'ná hán, I am sending and present perf. tense, main (or main ne) ghalliá hán, I have sent. A good instance of the imperf. part in *ná* is in song No. 60, where the same word occurs three times.

* [These doubts are unfounded, the participial nature of the first term of such compounds, being clearly shown by the Prákrit; see Hoernle's Gaud. Grammar, § 539, p. 389. Ed.]

† [These forms in *ná* (or *andá*) are probably nouns of agency. They occur in the Apabhramśa Prákrit (H. C. IV, 443). See also Hoernle's Gaud. Grammar, § 321, p. 153. Ed.]

pání hán main kúrā, I am throwing rubbish.
 páni hán bhamíriyán, I am throwing whirligigs.
 páni hán bluáriyán, I am throwing brooms.

In each of these cases páni is for páundí (= Hind. form pátí).

The usual participial inflection is, nom. sing. *á*, obl. *e*, fem. *í*; nom. plu. *e*, obl. *ían*, fem. *ían*. And hence the following otherwise apparently inexplicable forms:

motiyán chog chugániyán, (I) feed with bird's food of pearls, 5.
 (gallán) je kar'nián, (as many words) as I make, (say), 18.

kothí tán pániyán, I (fem) indeed build a house, 25. Unless, however, we look on this last as honorifically plural, it should be according to strict grammar kothí tán páni.

(o) A set of very curious forms occurring again and again in song 19 should probably be referred to the gerundive or participial construction in *ia*. They are formed from bigs'ná (Hindí bikas'ná) to be pleased. Thus, *masc. in ia*.

big'siá seh náí-bháí, pleased (is) the good barber.

big'siá seh Jas'rat Ráe, pleased (is) Jasrat Rai.

big'siá seh P'rohit, pleased (is) the Parohit.

fem. in í.

big'sí Kausalyá, pleased (is) Kausalyá.

big'sí seh dáí-mái, pleased (is) the old nurse.

big'sí seh náan, pleased (is) the barber's wife.

big'sí seh búá-rání, pleased (is) the royal aunt.*

(p) Kellogg, p. 188, sec. 347 (a), notices the tendency to add *y* to the root in causals in such compounds (P) as phenká dená. In Panjábí in the conjunctive participle of such verbs, whose infin. form is áuná (not áná as in Hindí), this *y* or *i* is regularly alternatively prefixed to *ke*, the usual termination. *E. g.*, áuná, to come; áke or áike, having come: banáuná, to make; banáke or banáike, having made. In R. R. in one line the *ke* is dropped and we have pái or páe, having obtained. Six instances of this form occur in song 19 *viz.*, naháeke, lagáeke, buláeke, láeke, luťáeke, páeke: and one instance in song No. 11, banáeke. This *ike* or *eke* may, however, be a double termination, like the kar'ke or kar'kar of modern times, formed of the old conj. part. terminations *i* and *ke*, of which more anon.†

* In the Hill Districts also thía=thá: thí=thí. Also o=hai and ain=hain.

† [The latter explanation is the correct one; the termination *i* or *e* being the older form of the ending of the conjunctive participle; see Hoernle's *Gaudian Grammar*, §§ 490, 491, pp. 328, 329. *Ed.*]

(q) The above forms take us imperceptibly to the conjunctive participle in *i*, which occurs so often in the songs from Kángará as to show that it is dialectic, and indeed, it is as common in every day use as in the songs. It is probably nothing more than the old termination *i* of the conj. part. in the *Rámáyana* lengthened dialectically just as that used to be *metri gratiá*.* See Kellogg, p. 217, sec. 415. The Panj. Gram. notices it, but wrongly ascribes it to the idiomatic use of the perf. part. in the feminine form. Thus,

ikk manukkh bojh *lai* *ṭuriá* *jándá* *sá*, a man was going along with a load.

chár kulí manjá chukkí khare se, four coolies stood holding up a bedstead.

The following are all the instances that occur in the songs :

- (1) bahí-já pinj'ren, sit in the cage. 5. Hindí, baith jáo.
- (2) Mahádeb russí baithá, Mahádeva being angry sits (is angry). 15.
- (3) bahí kare gallán, sitting let us make words, (talk). 18.
- (4) motiyán run-jhun láí, having made (brought) a rattle of pearls (rattling pearls). 20.

(5) chalí rah'nge, we will remain going. 21. Hindí, chal rahenge.

(6) prán tají jánán, losing my life I must go. 22.

(7) andar bahí-karí khánán, continuing to sit inside I must eat. 22.

Hindí, baith-kar'ke kháná.

(8) tán suní-karí rah'nán, then continuing to hear I must remain. 22.

(9) Amb charhí-karí koel bole, the cuckoo sings continuing to sit in the mango-tree, 23.

(10) n'hoí, bo, dhoí, sej bichháí, áí-já, O, having bathed and washed and spread the bed, come, 23.

(11) jahlú soí main jánghá, when I shall go to sleep, 23. Hindí, jab main so jáungá.

(12) tere múnhen dikhí-karí, continuing to see thy face, 26.

(13) tún hasí paí (painá, Panj. = par'ná, Hindí), you fell a-laughing, 26.

(14) pakhí loch dí láí de, having brought the fan of my desire, give it, 31. Láí de = Hindí, lá do.

(15) áí milí-já, come and meet (me), 32. Hindí, ákar mil-jáo.

(16) nimbú áí bikyá bajár, the lime having come was sold in the bazaar, 46.

(17) kothen charhí-karí hakkán máryán, climbing on to the roof he called out, 46.

* [The form *i* is simply a contraction of the Prákrit termination *ia*, while the form *í* is a curtailment of the same termination; see Hoernle's Gaud. Grammar, § 491. Ed.]

- (18) *sás áí-rahí*, the mother-in-law had come, 47.
 (19) *neí kune satyá*, taking it (*neṇá* for *lená*) I threw it into a corner, 47.
 (20) *ái-baithá thaṇḍe bág*, having come he sat in a cool garden, 48.
 (21) *muṛí dekh!* having turned look, 60. (Turn round and look!)
 (r) The following forms of the honorific imperative are worthy of notice.

Káhaná, bariyán lakhán hoyán putrán sahetá!

Be, O Káhan, lakhs of years with thy posterity! 20.

Jugán tain jáyán, Káhaná! Live, thou O Káhan, for ages! 20.

Kháyán be! O do thou eat! 23, 44.

Tahlú jáyán tún! then do thou go! 23.

Ghariyán, lohárá, díurá! make, O blacksmith, a brass-lamp! 44.

- (s) The contingent future in Panjábí is thus conjugated.

root: *ghall*, send.

	Singular.	Plural.
1st person	<i>ghallán</i>	<i>ghallye</i>
2nd person	<i>ghallen</i>	<i>ghallo or ghalle</i>
3rd person	<i>ghalle</i>	<i>ghallan.</i>

Instances of it occur in songs 25 and 27.

- (t) The plural form of the indef. perfect in Panjábí is well exhibited in the following:

Rúpe dáriyán gallán kítíyán, Rúpá's wife made words (spoke)
 41.

dárúye diyán kaṭoriyán pítyán, (she) drank cups of wine, 41.

hakkán máriyán, (he) called out, 46.

ghar ghar d'rekán phuliyán, (where) the drek trees flower at every house. This is an instance of the use of the indef. perf. for the indef. imperf., which is common.

- (u) Future forms are numerous and very irregular in dialectic Panjábí. The following are noteworthy specimens from the songs.

(i) *jáh'ng (it) will go, 15: dih'ng, (he) will give, 15. I have also met with hog and howag, (he) will be.*

(ii) *rah'nge, (we) will remain, 21.*

(iii) *jáṅghá, (I) will go, 23: páṅghí (I. fem.) will throw, 45.*

(iv) *bik'ge, (we) will be sold, 21.*

There is in the Northern Panjáb a very common future form *sán*; infl., *sí, san*.* *E. g., hojásan, they will become: hosán, I will be: hosí, he*

* [It also occurs in the old Panjábí and in the Marwáṛí; see Hoernle's *Gaudian Grammar*, § 509, p. 356. Ed.]

will be. In the songs occur, *bál'sán*, I will burn, 44; *ghol'sán*, I will knead or mix, 44; *áwasí*, she will come, 44. In R. R. occur the following forms, *ṭur'sán*, I will go; *deśán* (twice), I will give; *leśán* (twice), I will take; *kar'sán*, I will make; *banásán*, I will make; *ban'sán*, I will be made; *khá-sán*, I will eat. Also *laisí*, he will take; *már'sí*, he will beat; *khap'sí*, he will take; *war'sí*, he will enter; *áwasí*, he will come; *ásí*, he will come.

(v) The tendency to nasalise final vowels in nominal declension has been noticed. Instances are not wanting of it in verbal terminations. *E. g.*,

je koí sunen, if any'one hear, 20. See (s).

main ghar thamýán, I watched the house, 47.

áwasín, she will come, 44.

kar'sín, she will do, 44.

khinnuen dí ram-jham lán chirebáliá, the gaily-turbaned man brought the bouncing ball, 60.

main dudh-bhat din'nín, I (fem) give rice-and-milk, 5. *din'nín* is for *din'ní* = *dindí*, a common form of the imperf. part of *deṇā*, = *detí* in Hindí: *din'ní* is the alternative form; see (n) above.

A set of curious infinitive forms nasalized occur in song 22; *jánán*, *rah'nán*, *lánán*, *kaṭ'nán*, all in the sense of I must go, must stay, must bring, must bear with.* A stronger instance is to be found in song 47: *mathá tek'nán*, I had to make my bow.

(w) The tendency of Panjábí is to nasalize vowels before consonants; *e. g.*, *áundá* = *átá*; *jáudá* = *játá*. In these songs several instances occur of the opposite custom of dropping *anuswāra*, where it exists in Hindí and usually in Panjábí as well.†

hasí for *hans'kar*, laughing, 26.

has'ná for *hans'ná*, 56.

pakhí for *pankhí*, a fan, 31, 48.

khich'dá for *khainch'tá*, drawing, 43.

úchián for *únehá*, tall, 44.

* [These nasalized forms in *nán* correspond to the forms in *naun* in the Braj and *non* in Marwáṛí. See Hoernle's Gaudian Grammar, § 320, p. 153. Ed.]

† [These two cases are not parallel. The *n* of the pres. part. is a consonant, and it is organic, *i. e.*, it forms an original element of the Sanskrit and Prákrit participial suffix *anta*; it is preserved in Panj., but dropped in Hindí; see *ibid.* §§ 300, 301, 143, 146. But the *n* in *hans'ná*, etc. is not a consonant, but a mere nasalization of a vowel, and it is inorganic, *i. e.*, forming no element of the original Sanskrit or Prákrit word. These nasalizations are common to all Gaudians, and are especially frequent before *s* and *h*; see *ibid.* § 67. Ed.]

dughiyán for dúnghián, deep, 45.

chhikkyá for chhinká, sneezed, 47.

ákhán for ánkhan, 50.

gawáyá, 3, and ganwáyá (= dálá), 5.

The absence of *anuswára* in the above words is very puzzling to the ear.

In R. R. nagí occurs for nangí, naked: and sás and s'wás for sáns, breath.

(x) The insertion of *r* and *ṛ* after *t* and *ṭ* is not uncommon in the Panjáb.* In the songs occur

ṭhaṇṭ'rí for ṭhaṇṭí, 42, 45.

ṭhaṇṭ'reṇ for ṭhaṇṭe, 44.

át'rá for átá, flour, 44.

In R. R. beṭ'rá for beṭá, son, occurs several times; and weh't'rí, wedded wife, for byáh'tá, dialectic beotaṛ. Instances of *r* after other consonants are

mukh'rá for mukhá, face, 42.

práhunán and páhunán, guest, 44.

In R. R. occurs ráj'rá for rájá, king.

VOCABULARY.

A.

Abó ! hill dial. oh ! oh you !

Agetá, Panj. before the time, prematurely.

Akh, (= *ánkh*) the eye.

Akhen, hill dial. indeed, verily; (P) connected with Panj. v. *ákh'ná*, to say, tell.

An, a form of general inflection in the hill dial.

Anand páná, to be paid fees or dues.

Appú for *áp*, you.

'Arab ká pání, sweet or pure water; (P) corrup. from *adrah ká pání*.

Ati, (Skr.), very, very much.

Át'rá for *átá*, flour.

Áwasín, hill dial. fem. fut. form, I will come.

* [This *r* or *ṛ* is the very common pleonastic suffix *ra* or *rá*, in Prákrit *ḍa*; see *ibid.*, §§ 209, 216, 217. The example *práhunán* does not belong to this class; it is a semitatama for Sanskrit *práhupa*, while *páhunán* is a tadbhava form. Ed.]

B.

- Bách'ná*, Panj. to read.
Báh'ná, to put on the fire, to put to bake, to cook.
Bah'ná and *báh'ná* for *baith'ná*, Panj. to sit.
Bál'sán, hill dial. masc. fut. form, I will burn.
Bárhí for *bár* or *bárá*, a fence, hedge.
Barhí, hill dial. a year.
Bárá, hill dial. over again, *da capo*, as applied to singing.
Bárá, hill dial. an enclitic. indeed, verily, surely, moreover, also, altogether.
Bari, hill dial. a year.
Bat for *bát*, hill dial. a path, road.
Battú for *bát*, hill dial. a path, road.
Bedan, hill dial. love.
Bekalí, fem. ill at ease.
Bes, hill dial. best, the best.
Bhaiṇ for *bahin*, sister.
Bhamírí, a toy consisting of a small stick with paper fixed round the top so as to twirl quickly in the wind, a twirly-whirly; hill dial.
Bhandoru, hill dial. a bee.
Bhaṭ'naulí, hill dial. a squirrel (?).
Bhatoí, hill dial. mad.
Bhuári for *buhárá*, a broom.
Bhuy'kh'ná, to scratch, make a noise, pull at (of a mouse or rat).
Bíbí (?) for English *baby*; a baby, male or female, in English nurseries.
Bich (for Panj. *vich*), hill dial. in, inside.
Big'sí, hill dial. fem. verbal inflect. form, she is pleased. *Cf.* Hind. *bikas'ná*.
Big'síd, hill dial. masc. form of above *big'sí*.
Bo! hill dial. oh! oh you!
Bo múiye! hill dial. oh! come here! I say! oh you! my dear! Also sorrowfully, alas! ah!
Brahmanetí. hill dial. female Brahman.
Búndú, a tassel, silken drop.

C.

- Chacharu*, hill dial. tick, flea.
Chak'chál, hill dial. clever, sharp, tricky.
Chamareṭí, hill dial. female Chammár.
Chár for *aohár*, pickle.

Chañorá, a libertine.

Chhamk'ná for *chhaunk'ná*, to fry spices in butter.

Chhik'ká, Panj. (= *chhink'ná*), to sneeze.

Chhok'rá, hill dial. a widow's son, orphan. Also a term of abuse.

Cf. Hind. *mur'há*.

Chhuṭá for *chhoṭá*, hill dial. small.

Chhuṭiyán lar'ján, hill dial. (*lit.* small fringes): the small leaves of a young plant.

Chirebálíá, hill dial. for *chirewálá*, a man with a gay turban.

Chir'ná for *chhí'vá*, to peel.

Chit-rakhu, (*lit.* keeper of the heart), lover.

Cholu, dim. form. a little cloak.

D.

Dárl, hill dial. wife. See *lárí*.

Dár'ná (= *dál'ná*), intensive verb. as in *ghis-dáro* for *ghis-dálo*, rub away.

Dárú, hill dial. for *dárim*, a pomegranate.

Den, hill dial. of: (for Panj. *de*).

Dharyáyá, hill dial. thirsty.

Dhuron, Panj. from afar.

Dih'ng, fut. form, hill dial. will give.

D'rek (= *bakáyan*) the *Melia composita*, (?) the Persian lilac.

Dúbh for *dúb*, *dúb* grass.

Dút Frangí (*lit.* the English Messenger) the Angel of Death.

E.

En, general form of masc. inflect., hill dial.

Etí, hill dial. fem. term. to proper names of tribes and castes.

G.

Gaddí, the shepherd caste in Kángará.

Gadeṭí, a female Gaddí.

Gadokh'rá, hill dial. the large hill goat.

Gadokh'rá, hill dial. a kid.

Gaḍ'wá, Panj. a small brass drinking vessel, (*loṭá*).

Gajúli, (*lit.* itching), wanton, hill dial.

Gálí kaḍḍh'ná, Panj. (*lit.* to cast out abuse), to abuse.

Ganwánd, Panj. to lose, spend; also = Hind. *ḍalná* in comp.

Gar'j, hill dial. for غرض *gharaz*, necessary.

Gawáná, see *ganwáná*.

Ghasûtarî, hill dial. a slide down the snowclad hillside, a slide in the snow : toboganing.

Gher'wâ, hill dial. large, commodious (of a house).

Gheû, Panj. = *ghî*.

Ghiû = *ghî*.

Ghol'sân, masc. fut. form. I will knead, hill dial.

Ghoṭā غوطہ for غوطہ *ghota*, a dip, plunge.

Ghyo, hill dial. = *ghî*.

H.

Hakkân mâr'nâ, hill dial. to shout out, call out.

Hasî painâ, hill dial. to laugh.

Has'nâ for *hans'nâ*, to laugh.

Heth, hill dial. with.

Hîthu, hill dial. here.

I.

Iân, see *în*.

Ik'ṭiyo, in one place, together.

În, hill dial. general form of fem. inflect.

It for *is*, inflect. form, this.

Iyân, see *în*.

J.

Jah'û, hill dial. when.

Jah'ng, hill dial. fut. form. will go.

Jānghâ, hill dial. fut. form. masc. I will go.

Jhîr, hill dial. (= Panj. *jhînwar*) the carrier caste.

Jhûnjâ, hill dial. fruit.

Jhûṭ'nâ for *jhûl'nâ*, to swing.

Jih'te, Panj. (= *jis se*) from which.

Jit for *jis*, inflect. form, which.

Jîû for *jî*, hill dial. life, heart.

Jo, hill dial. (= *ko*), to : objective postpos.

K.

Kachchâ dam, hill dial. this world, this life.

Kag'û, hill dial. turban ornament, aigrette : (for *kalghî*).

Kajo ? hill dial. why ?

Kâl'jâ for *kal'jâ*, liver, heart.

Kand for *kanth*, husband.

Kar'sîn, fem. fut. form. hill dial. I will do.

Kaṭ'ná, Panj. to bear with, put up with.

Kawwá (= *ákḥ*), the large swallow-wort, *Saccharum officinarum* (?)

Kharoná for *khaloná*, Panj. to stand still.

Khatreṭí, hill dial. female *Khattrí*.

Khich'ná for *khainch'ná*, to draw.

Khinún for Panj. *khinnún* or *khiddú*, bouncing ball or plaything, a child's ball.

Kihán? Panj. how?

Kit? for *kis*? inflect. form, which?

Kithú? hill dial. where?

Kityo, (for Panj. *kití*); hill dial. anywhere.

Kudhí? hill dial. whence?

Kúná, to speak, Panj.

Kuní? hill dial. who?

Kus? (for *kis*?) hill dial. inflect. form, which?

Kusí (for *kisi*) hill dial. any one.

Kuthú? hill dial. (for Panj. *kithe*?) where?

L.

Láh'rí, hill dial. the field adjoining the house, the home paddock.

Lap lap kar'ná, hill dial. to twist in and out, to wriggle along.

Lár for *lád*, love, affection, fondness.

Lárhí, see *lád'rí*, hill dial.

Lá'rí, hill dial. a wife.

Lá'rí, see *lád'rí*, hill dial.

Lar'j, hill dial. a fringe.

Loch, Panj. desire, wish.

Lokán, the people.

Luchí for *luchái*, a soft thin cake fried in butter.

M.

Maite (for Panj. *maiton* and *maithon*) from me.

Majú'ri for *maj'dú'ri* = *mazdú'ri*, a labourer's pay.

Man bol'ná, to desire, want.

Man-rakhú (*lit.* keeper of the heart), lover.

Marh, hill dial. a monument or temple on top of a hill, a house, hill-side hut. (= Panj. *marh*, a Hindu temple.)

Maung'nún, hill dial. a bug.

Mhín, hill dial. also, too (= *bhí*).

Min'jo, for *main* + *jo* (*g. v.*) to me, hill dial.

Mirk már'ná, hill dial. to sign to, beckon.

Mughalání, a nurse.

Muhimí, a warrior, brave man.

Múíye! Panj. (to women only) oh! hi! I say! oh you! come here!
my dear!

Múlen (= *mol*) *lená*, to buy.

Mung'rí, hill dial. a small-wooden mallet used for patting earth.

Mutyár, Panj. a fully developed girl, a girl at puberty, a grown-up girl.

N.

Nabaj for *nabz*, the pulse.

Náen for *nám*, name.

Nená, Panj. (= *lená*), to take.

Nindí for *nind*, sleep: in English nurseries.

Nir mohirá, unloving, heartless.

O.

Os, ordinary Panj. pronunciation of *us*, that.

P.

Painá, Panj. to fall.

Pakhí for *pankhí*, a small fan.

Pál'ná, a swing-cradle.

Páná, hill dial. (= *qál'ná*), to cast, throw: place, put: build.

Páng'hí, fut. form. fem. hill dial. I will throw.

Pan'sár, hill dial. watery, thin.

Parés'ni for *parosan*, a female neighbour.

Patr'ká for *patri*, almanac, scripture, holy book.

Páwaná for Panj. *páuná* (= *páná*), to receive.

Phaṭ'hár, blame.

Pher'wá, hill dial. having doors from room to room (of a house).

P'rát'rí, hill dial. a paring knife.

Q.

Qaid F'rangí, (*lit.* English imprisonment) complete imprisonment,
imprisonment from which there is no escape.

R.

Rachhyá for *rakshá*, protection.

Ráiyán, hill dial. for Panj. *ráín*, a market-gardener.

Ram-jham, hill dial. the bouncing up and down of a ball with the hands.

Raṭ'ná, hill dial. to fall (of fruit).

Ras'liá for *rasilá*, juicy.
Riyoná, to weep involuntarily.
Run-jhun, a tinkle.
Russí for *ros* or *rosá*, anger.
Russí baiñ'h'ná, hill dial. to be angry.

S.

Sadásibe, hill dial. (= *Sadā Siva*) the Eternal Siva.
Sag'rá for *sárá*, all, the whole.*
Sahetá, hill dial. with.
Sáhi, hill dial. like.
Sammak-rátí, Panj. all night.
Sat'ná, hill dial. (= Panj. *sitt'ná*,) to throw.
Seh, hill dial. he, the (= Panj. *so*).
Shakal for *sakal*, all, the whole.
Sodh, Hind. and Panj. news.
Soyá, for *soá*, fennel.
Suná for *soná*, gold.

T.

Tahlú, hill dial. then.
Ták, hill dial. bite of a flea or tick.
Tár'ná for *tal'ná*, to put off, remove.
Tar'ná for *tal'ná*, to vanish, disappear.
Tar-tikh'ná,† very hot, burning.
Thand'rá, cold.
Tij'ju for *tain* + *jo* (q. v.), to thee, hill dial.
Tinhán, Panj. they, those, the.
Tithú, hill dial. (for Panj. *tithe*) these.
Topú, dim. form, a little cap.
Tuk, Panj. a religious catch or ditty.
Tumb, Panj. touch, feeling.

U.

Ut for *us*, inflect. form, that.
Uthú, hill dial. for Panj. *uthe*, these.

* [*Sag'rá* is the Sanskrit *sakala*; but *sárá* may be derived from it through an intermediate Prákrit *saara*. Ed.]

† For a good note on this Panj. nominal and adjectival termination *ná*, *ní*, *nán*, see Sirdár Gurdíál Singh's (C. S.) note in Leitner's *Sketch of the Changars, Láhor*, 1880, pp. 19-21.

V.

Vekh'ná, Panj. to see.

W.

Waqá, Panj. (= Hind. *bará*) great.*Waqárú*, Panj. an ancestor, a wise man.*Waqerá*, Panj. see *waqárú*.*We!* for *be!* oh! alas!*Wekh'ná*, Panj. to see. See *vek'h'ná*.*Wich* for Panj. *vich*, in, inside. See *bich*.

Y.

Yád men, in the search after.

RELIGIOUS SONGS.

1.

Tún bhaj-lai Rám dá Nám,

Jithe tain jáná hai.

Tún kar'ní kar-lai nek,

Phal hath áuná hai.

Panjáb.

Repeat thou the Name of Rám,

To whom thou hast to go.

What is to be done do thou well,

And the fruit will come to thy hand.

Notes.

Rám dá Nám. Rám represents the deity in the Sikh religion: *vide* Trumpp. *Adi Granth* xcviii. Here the expression would be in Christian phraseology 'Pray always to God.'

Jithe. Panj. where: here it means 'to whom.'

Tain. Panj. thou.

2.

Tere bin kaun haregá merí pír?

Tere bin kaun haregá merí pír?

Main pápí dín hún Tere dar ká,

Nir'dhan aur faqír.

Panjáb.

Without Thee, who will take away my pain?

Without Thee, who will take away my pain?

I am a sinful servant at Thy gate,

Without wealth and poor.

Notes.

This is an obvious address to the Deity: perhaps traceable to some Bhagat. It is in Hindí.

Faqír: here in its proper sense of a poor man, a beggar.

3.

Rám'jí ká bhed kisé ne nahín páyá,
Sára janam us'kí yád men ganwáyá.
Rám Rám ke káran, sádho,
Dhūṇḍat shakal jahán :
Rishí, muní aise hí hogae,
Kho diye hain ap'ne prán.

Panjáb.

No one has found the secret of Rám,
(Though) his whole life be spent in the search.
For Rám's sake, my friend,
They search the whole earth :
Sages and saints have gone thus
And lost their lives.

Notes.

Rám'jí = Rám, the Sikh name for the Supreme Deity: God. See former song.

Yád, search, *lit.*, remembrance, calling to mind.

Ganwáyá; *ganwáná*, *gawáná*; Panj. verb, to lose, to spend; also used as an intensive like *dálná*.

Sádho, my friend: *sádh*, a holy man, saint.

Shakal = *sakal*, all, the whole = (?) *Sag'rá*, *q. v.**

4.

Dwáre mere áyo bahman'jí,
Subh bachan sunáyo bahman'jí.
Bahman báche patr'ká,
Aur subh subh sodh sunáe :
Jo chintá man men rahe,
So sunte hí miṭ jáe.
Bahutí chintá kar gae
Aur kaṭ gae din rain :

* [The identification is correct; see footnote on p. 170. Ed.]

Dekhat dekhat mar gae,
 Aur andhe kar liye nain.
 Bipr rúp ká bhes kar,
 Jo áyá mere pás :
 Main char'non par gir pará,
 Jo púran hogayí ás.
 Bahman bahman karat hain,
 Jo bahman uttam ját :
 Jo us'ká sim'ran kare,
 To sang rahe dín rát.
 Allá Allá karat hain
 Jo zát us'kí hai pák :
 Biná prem ríjhe nahín,
 Jo ghis-dáro sab nák.
 'Alí Muhammad hogayí,
 Aur kuchh nahín húi aulád :
 Jo qismat men likh diyá,
 So sab páwen dád.
 Jo likhá hai bhág men,
 So pahile hí pahuncháe :
 Bálak rah'tá peṭ men,
 Aur dúdh chúnchí men áe.
 'Alí Muḥammad hogaye
 Jo bahut thá un'se lár :
 Akhir ko we bhí mare,
 Aur mittí men diye gár.

Panjáb.

A brahman came to my door,
 Glad tidings the brahman told me.
 The brahman read the scripture,
 And told me good news :
 What care was in my mind
 Disappeared on hearing it.
 Much care have men taken
 And spent their days and nights :
 Watching they have died
 And made their eyes blind.
 He put on a brahman's form
 Who came to me :
 I fell at his feet
 As my desire was fulfilled.
 They call him brahman

Who is brahman of the highest kind :
 Who worships him,
 With him will he remain day and night.
 They call him God (Allah)
 Whose nature is good,
 He is not pleased without love,
 Though you rub away your whole nose.
 Muhammad had female posterity
 And no male posterity.
 What is written in fate
 Will all obtain justly.
 What is written in fate
 Is already arrived :
 (As) the child lies in the womb,
 And the milk comes into the breasts.
 'Ali and Muhammad have been,
 Who were much loved by him (? God) :
 In the end they too died
 And were buried in the earth.

Notes.

This is a remarkable song in its way. It came to me as a *Brahman* song and was given me by a Brahman from Kángará. It is remarkable for its cosmopolitan nature and allusions to Muhammadanism. It is in pure Hindí excepting the Panjábí word *bách'ná*,* to read, and is therefore probably a wholesale importation from Hindí literature, perhaps straight from the writings of some free-thinking poet or Bhagat.

Báche : Panj. *bách'ná*, to read.

Sodh : Hindí, news : *not* in the Dictionaries.

Patr'ká = *patri*; almanac, scripture, holy book.

Ját, zát. These words are now synonymous in common parlance to mean 'caste.' *Ját* is Sansk. in origin from root *jan*, to be born, and *zát* is probably a Munshi's corruption of the word to make it fit in with the Arabic *ذات* essence, which, however, in Persian also means 'tribe, clan, sort.' Here we have both senses : *ját* applied to the Brahman and *zát* applied to Allah, God.

Jo us'ká sim'ran kare : (?) ought this to be translated "who worship him (God) in the Brahman's form." ?

Biná prem etc., *i. e.*, Allah (God) is not pleased with mere outward show.

* [The word *bách'ná* or *báneh'ná* is a very common pure Hindí word; in fact *par'ná* is more Urdú, than Hindí. Ep.]

Jo ghis-dáro sab náḱ is in allusion to the Musalman custom of touching the ground with the nose (or forehead) in prayer. *Dáro* = *ḁálo*.

Āl aulád: progeny. *Āl*, female descendants are not looked upon as so honorable as male descendants, hence the point here is—whatever is fated will ensue, for even Muhammad left no male line.

dád, justice.

lár = *lād*; love; fondness; affection.

5.

Ambe *ḁáliyá totá bole*; mainá bole *bārhiyán*.

Bhajo *Rám'jī*: *din thore*, *rátín bariyán*.

A, mere toto, *bahí-já pinj'ren*, *motiyán chog chugániyán*.

Tote jo main *dudh-bhát din'nín*; mainán jo *ghyo chúriyán*.

Kángará.

The parrot screams on the branch of the mango tree; the *mainá* chatters in the hedge.

Repeat the name of *Rám*: the days are short, and the nights long.

Come, my parrot, sit in the cage, I feed you with pearl-food.

I will give milk and rice to the parrot; and crumbs and *ghí* to the *mainá*.

Notes.

bārhi, fence, hedge, = *bār*, *bārī*.

din thore, *rátín bariyán*. This may be explained thus. The days (time for prayer) are short: the nights (no time for prayer) are long: hence utilize the time for prayer.

bahí-já, *bah'ná* and *báh'ná*, common Panj. = *baith'ná*, to sit. See song No. 18.

motiyán chog, *lit.*, bird's food of pearls, *i. e.*, the very best of food. The superstition is that the *hansá* swan (mentioned in another song *q. v.*) feeds on pearls by the sea-side, which is therefore considered the very best of food.

Tote jo; *mainán jo*; *jo* in the hill dialects of *Kángará* and *Chambá* = *ko*, to.

dudh-bhát: milk-and-rice is the usual food given to caged parrots.

ghyo chúriyán: balls made of bread crumbs and *ghí*. *Chúri* is the broken grain from a mill: crumbs. *ghyo* = Panj. *ghéu* = Hind. *ghí*. *cf.* song No. 25. This is the usual food of caged *mainás*.

Pinj'ren, *motiyán*, *mainán*. This nasalisation of such final syllables is very common in Panj. village poet: dialects, especially in the hills. *en*, *ían* or *iyán* are respectively the masc. and fem. form of general inflection common in these songs: *án* is in *mainán* another form of *ían*.

6.

Main tán hogáí swámí ká charan'hár:
Tum páp karo mere sag're pár.

Kágrá.

I have become indeed obedient to my lord:
Save me from all my sin.

Notes.

The story goes that a woman went to a temple to pray, but the god said she must first learn to obey her husband: whereon she went home and presently came back to say she was now very obedient and wished to be forgiven; whence the above song.

swámí ká. This makes *charan'hár* masc. which as the singer is a woman, must be explained by her being compared to *charan'hár*, garland of the feet.

charan'hár: obedient. The deriv. given me is *charan*, the foot + *hár*, a garland of the feet. *sag'rá* = *sárá*, the whole.

pár kar'ná: the trans. form of *pár honá*, to be forgiven; *lit.*, to be across (into the next world).

7.

Re, kacheche dam ká nahín hai bharosá.

Re, kacheche dam ka nahín hai bharosá.

Áyá na áyá: áyá na áyá.

Re, kacheche dam ká! (*báří*)

Kágrá.

Alas, there is no confidence in this life.

Alas, there is no confidence in this life.

It comes and it comes not; it comes and it comes not.

Alas, this life! (*da capo*)

Notes.

Kachechá dam is a very curious expression: *lit.*, it is deficient breath or life. It is used in the hills for this life, this world.

báří: again, *da capo*. The word as used in the hills I cannot find in the Dicts.; it has two senses, one as an enclitic, indeed, surely, verily and one in music, 'sing again from the beginning,' in which it is found at the end of verses or songs as here. It differs from our 'da capo' which is merely a musical direction, whereas '*báří*' appears to be actually sung: thus they will sing through the song and then sing '*báří*' and commence again. The deriv. is obvious, *cf. báří*, a turn: *báří-báří*, turn by turn, alternately. See song Nos. 24, 59.

8.

Karam-gat *ťárí nahín ťare* :
 Karam-gat *ťárí nahín ťare*.
Ráwan Kaus sab'hí hogáe *báří*,
Ākhir sab'hí mare.
Dusht ko máre *phir* us se *ťare* ;
Bhagat kí *rachhyá* kare :
 Karam-gat, be, *ťárí nahín ťare*.

Panjáb.

The decree of fate moves not for putting away :
 The decree of fate moves not for putting away.
Rávanas and *Kansás* have all indeed been,
 And in the end they all died.
 He (? God) kills the wicked and then saves him ;
 The saints he (? God) preserves.
 Oh, the decree of fate moves not for putting away.

Notes.

Karam-gat, the decree of fate : the order of fate. *gat* is *lit.*, state, condition.

ťárí, ťare = *ťálí, ťale*. *ťal'ná* is to vanish, disappear : *ťál'ná*, to put off, remove.

Ráwan, Kaus : typical tyrants in Hindu mythology. *Rávan* was the demon king of *Lanká* or *Ceylon* who abducted *Sítá* and was finally killed by *Ráma*. *Kansá* was a tyrannical king of *Mathurá* and was eventually killed by *Kṛishṇa*. He performed Herod's feat of a general massacre of male infants.

báří, enclitic, indeed. See song No. 7.

ťare ; to save, give salvation.

rachhyá = *rakshá*, preservation.

RELIGIOUS SONGS. TUKS.

9.

Ťur'ná hai, *rah'ná nahín* :
 Eh jag *kúrā* wekh.
Bhág dá *likhyá páwaná*,
 Mite na *karam dí* rekh.

Panjáb.

One must go hence, one cannot stay :
 This world appears to be vanity.
 What is written in fate must be received,
 The lines of fate will not be blotted out.

Notes.

Wekh or *vekh*, Panj. to see, to seem. Hind *pekh'ná*.
Páwaná or *páuná*, Panj. form of the infin. *pána*, to receive.
Rekhá, *rekh*. The lines on the forehead (Fallon's *New Hind. Dict.*
 says on the palm of the hand) supposed to be the lines of fate (*karam*).

10.

Satt Nám ik mantar hai ;
 Jape soé phal páe :
 Koṭ jatan kar'ke mare,
 Likhyá bhág dá kháe.

Panjáb.

The True Name is a charm ;
 Who repeats it will reap the fruit :
 Making innumerable plans they die,
 And obtain (only) what is written in fate.

Notes.

Satt Nám, the True Name : the Name of God. A Sikh expression.
Koṭ = *karor*, *lit.*, ten millions, innumerable.

11.

Jin súe hare kíte han,
 Ate sáuzle kíte kág,
 Dhaule hans banáeke
 Sabh rang mor, ate rág :
 Uh Swámí ik satt hai,
 Ate kúrā sabh Sansár.
 Jo kar'ní mánas kare,
 To pár utáran'hár.

Panjáb.

He who made the parrot green,
 And made the crow black,
 Made the swan white
 And the peacock many-hued and their song :
 He is the one true Lord
 And the whole world is vanity.
 If a man do his duty
 Then will he be saved.

Notes.

Sáunlá, properly dark-brown : dark complexioned : swarthy : here evidently black.

Hans : a swan, goose, but with the majority of Panjábís a mythical bird which lives by the sea-side entirely on pearls and on no other kind of food. It is said to be the whitest thing known, as we say 'white as snow.' See song No. 5.

Ate rág : a very elliptical expression, the verb being left out ; the sense is 'gave to each his song.'

Pár utáran'hár : much used idiomatically in the sense of 'will obtain salvation', 'will be saved.'

12.

Honá hai, so ho rihá !

Ate an'honá nahin hoe !

Wade wadere jatan kar

Prāṇ gāe han khoe !

Panjáb.

What is to be, is now going on !

What is not to be, could never have been !

Great forefathers make plans

And lose their lives.

Notes.

Honá hai etc. Cf. Fallon's *New Hind. Dict.* art. *an*, an'honí hotí nahín, aur honí howan'hár, what is not to be is not, and what will be is being. The doctrine of fatalists.

Wade wadere : Panj. words. Wadā = barā, great : waderā (also wadárú) an ancestor, forefather ; said to mean also 'a wise man.'

RELIGIOUS SONGS, CUSTOMS.

13.

Ajji main ne Gangá naháne jáná ;

Suno, main ne Jam'ná naháne jáná.

Gangá naháná,

Jam'ná naháná,

Sar'jú men ghotá lagáná.

Panjáb.

To-day I must go and bathe in the Ganges ;
 Listen, I must go and bathe in the Jamná.
 Bathe in the Ganges,
 Bathe in the Jamná,
 I must dip in the Sarju.

Notes.

This is a pilgrim's song sung in the mornings on the road to the sacred rivers.

The Sar'ju River is in Audh ; but it is here said to be used for the Ghag'rá River in Audh which runs past Faizábád, etc., and is very sacred. The song is in Hindí.

ghoṭá, غوطہ is a corruption of *ghoṭa* غوطه Arabic, *ghoṭa lagáná* is to dip, dive. The usual word in this sense is *jhakolá*. See *art. jhakolá* in Fallon's *New Hind. Dict.* *Goṭá* गोटा is the usual Hindí form of this word, but *ghoṭá* घोटा is what the singer said was correct here.

14.

Uḍ, uḍ, kúnjáriyo ní, hán !
 Aní Máe, Sáwan mahíná áyá ;
 Aní Máe, Sáwan mahíná áyá.
 Aní merí Mán, ho !
 Uḍ, uḍ, kúnjáriyo !
 Aní Máe, píng'hán jhúṭan jáná ;
 Aní Máe, píng'hán jhúṭan jáná.
 Aní merí Mán, ho ! (*bári*)

Kángrá,

Fly, fly, O wagtails, yes !
 O mother, the month of Sáwan has come ;
 O mother, the month of Sáwan has come.
 O my mother, ho !
 Fly, fly, O wagtails !
 O mother, we must go and swing ;
 O mother, we must go and swing.
 O my mother, ho !

*(da capo)**Notes.*

This song, very popular in *Kángrá*, is only sung during the month of Sáwan (July-August). The festival of the Doll Fair (*minjaron* or *gurion ká melá*) is held in Sáwan throughout Northern India. Local customs regarding it differ. In *Kángrá*, they are as follows : every man, woman and child goes to the river-side near the fort at *Kángrá*, at least once during Sáwan, on a Sunday, Tuesday or Thursday, which must have been previously fixed on by a kind of mental vow. On this occasion they must wear a doll

at the breast which is thrown into the river while the above song is frequently sung. The object of the custom is to procure ease of mind during the coming year; for, as the doll is cooled by going into the water so is the mind cooled (eased) by the act.

The custom of the Sáwan swinging, which is done for luck and is alluded to in the song is of course well known. One of the signs of Sáwan or the very wet weather, are the kúnjarís, which I believe are our 'water-wagtails.'

Kúnjáriyo: kúnjári or kúnjarí, a bird said to appear only in Sáwan, the rainy season. The word appears to be local in Kángará: cf. Hind. *khan-jan*, a wagtail, and the wagtails do appear with the rains in the hills. *Kúnj* is the coolen goose, but that can hardly be meant

Ní, aní: Panj. vocative exclamations used towards women, = Hind. *rí, arí*.

Hán, yes, here apparently merely enclitic.

Píngán jhútan, to swing. Hind. *píng* or *píng*, is the act of swinging high; Panj. a swing suspended. *Jhútan*, to swing; cf. Hind. *jhúl'ná*, to swing: *jhoṭ*, a swing, and Panj. *jhúlá*, the sweep of a swing. The festival here alluded to is called the *jhúl'ná-játrá* in the North-West Provinces and Fallon, *s. v.*, *jhúl'ná*, has a very pretty song about it, (*q. v.*), besides others under the same article. Under *arí*, *píng*, he quotes some more something to the same purport as that here given.

bári; *da capo*, over again. See note to song No. 7.

15.

Mahádeb russí baiṭhá,

Mangadá gadokh'rú:

Tablú rosá mittí jáh'ng,

Jahlú dih'ng chhok'rú.

Tún tán Sadásibe jo

Munái lah, soh'nien ní.

Chambá.

Mahádev is angry,

And demands a kid.

When his anger has vanished,

Then he will give you a boy;

So do you to the Eternal Siva

Bring conciliations, O beauty.

Notes.

russí, rosá, anger: cf. Panj. *rossá, ros* anger: Hind. *ros, rásá*: Sansk. ✓ *ruś*, ✓ *rush*, ✓ *riś*, ✓ *rish*, ✓ *rukḥ*: Hind. and Panj. *rus'*.

ná; Hind. ruth'ná, to be vexed, angry. Russi baiṭh'ná; hill dialect, to be angry.

mangadā = máng'tá, desires.

gadokh'rá, the large hill goat: dim. gadokh'rú, a kid, hill dialect.

jahlú-tahlú, when-then, hill dialect.

jáh'ng = jáhang = jáve(n)gá: *dih'ng* = dihang = deve(n)gá; cf. Panj. forms such as hosan, jásan, hog, howag, etc. all future forms. See song Nos. 23, 44.

chho'k'rú, hill dialect, a widow's son = orphan. It is used as a form of abuse among women and children. The hint is that the speaker wishes the other's father to die. It is the same as the Hindí *mur'há*, about which Fallon quotes 'Mur'há gárá daí gayo, guíyán; kaun náte?' May he become an orphan, my dear; what relative was he? *i. e.*, that he should jest with me.

Sadásibe = Sadá Siva, the Eternal Siva.

jo = ko, the objective case. See song No. 5.

munáí lāh, bring coaxings, conciliate.

16.

- Stri.* Andar báhar ek'hí rít,
Kyá jáne dúje kí prít?
- Jogi.* Tú hai sundar bānki nār,
Kyon kar'tí jogi ko khwār?
- Stri.* Main dar'shan tere ko áí:
Dújí bát nahín kachhu cháhí.
- Jogi.* Tú mere káran láí miṭhái,
Jis se kám merá baṛh jáí.
- Stri.* Mujh ko dújá nahín hai kám;
Kaho, to lún Bhag'wán ká nám.
- Jogi.* Baiṭho yahán, karo bis'rám,
Sim'ro nit Bhag'wán ká nám.
- Stri.* Yehí to hai is jagat kí rítí:
Koí kisí se kare nahín prítí.
- Jogi.* Jo dekhe, sab hain matlab ke:
Koí nahín kám áwe sab ke.
Dhíraj kar, tum karo yeh kám,
Japá karo Bhag'wán ká nám.
Orak us'ke nikat hí jáná,
Kisí ne nahín is jag men bacháná.
Mat bhúlo, tum kar lo sudh,
Is'hí ke káran milí hai budh.

Sab begáne, koí nahín ap'ná ;
 Yeh jag sárá rain ká sap'ná.
 Jo kar'ní kar lo, hai sangí,
 Dút jab á pak'regá Frangí.

Panjáb.

- Woman.* His mind and body are the same :
 What does he know of other's love ?
- Jogi.* You are a skittish beauty :
 Why do you disgrace the Jogi ?
- Woman.* I (only) came to see you,
 I do not wish for anything else.
- Jogi.* You brought sweets for me,
 That my lust might increase.
- Woman.* I have no second object ;
 Say and I will take the name of Bhag'wán.
- Jogi.* Sit down here and take your rest,
 Call always on the name of Bhag'wán.
- Woman.* This is the custom of this world :
 No one has love for any one.
- Jogi.* Every one desires what he sees,
 No one is of benefit to all.
 Have patience and do you thus,
 Repeat the name of Bhag'wán.
 In the end you must go to him,
 No one can be saved in this world.
 Forget not, keep him in remembrance,
 For this you have reason.
 All are strangers, no one is a friend ;
 This world is all a dream of the night.
 Your duty is your companion,
 When the Angel of Death takes you.

Notes.

- This song is purely Hindí, but is known everywhere in the Panjáb.
- Andar báhar ek'hí rít : lit.*, inside and outside he is one custom : his mind and body are the same.
- Khwár kar'ná*, to disgrace ; bring into disrepute.
- Jis se kám merá barh jái : lit.*, that my lust might be increased. *kám*, lust : *Káma*, Cupid, the Hindú god of love.
- Bhag'wán*, the Blest : the Supreme Being : God.
- Us'ke níkaṭ : lit.*, near him.

Jo kar'ni kar lo (yeh) hai sangi : elliptic construction and therefore difficult to analyse. Do what you have to do (this) is your companion. The first sentence is treated as a noun in apposition to the last words *hai sangi*. *Jo kar'ni kar lo*, is now always almost a noun in the sense of 'duty, but more especially 'charity.' The idea of the sentence is 'your charity is your companion, when' etc.

Dút Frangi, *lit.*, the English messenger : a curious and notable phrase. 'Frangi' here means 'the all-powerful,' a metaphorical sense given the word in allusion to the overwhelming power of the British : the 'all-powerful messenger' is the 'Angel of Death.' *Frangi* or English is now constantly used in common current phrase for what is irresistible, all-powerful. *Angrez Bahádur dí doháí!* the protection of the all-powerful. *Quid Furangi*, imprisonment from which there is no escape.

17.

Chhama chhama pújan chalí Mahádeb ko ;
Chhama chhama pújan chalí Mahádeb ko :
Tel kí kachaurí chapháí Mahádeb ko ;
Tel kí kachaurí chapháí Mahádeb ko :
Ghí kí kachaurí khiláí bánke yár ko !

Kángri.

Tinkling she went to worship Mahádev ;
Tinkling she went to worship Mahádev :
Cakes of oil she offered Mahádev ;
Cakes of oil she offered Mahádev :
Cakes of *ghí* she offered to her lover.

Notes.

The point is that the girl goes with her offering of cakes to the temple, but the choicest she offers to her lover.

The song is purely Hindí.

tel kí kachaurí ; *ghí kí kachaurí* : kachauris made with oil are indigestible and unpalatable, whereas those made of *ghí* are the reverse and much more choice.

Ohham chham is the noise made by anklet-bells of the women in full holiday dress.

18.

Asán Gugge diyá játrá jo jáná, soh'nien ní !
Asán Gugge diyá játrá jo jáná, bo !
Battá bich bahí kare gallán, bo, je kar'nián,
Sára dukh chite dá mittáná, soh'nien ní.
Asán Gugge diyá játrá jo jáná, bo !

Kángri.

I must make a pilgrimage to Guggá, my beauty !
 I must make a pilgrimage to Guggá.
 Sitting by the roadside I will talk, and while I talk,
 All the sorrow of my heart will disappear, my beauty !
 I must make a pilgrimage to Guggá.

Notes.

The *játrá* or pilgrimage to Guggá is performed only in honour of some vow being fulfilled and not otherwise. The successful suppliant collects as many people as he can afford and takes them on a pilgrimage to one of the numerous shrines to Guggá in the Kángará valley, where he entertains them at his own cost for some days. As may be readily imagined the more frolicsome of the women, when tired of the monotony of home life, invent a fulfilled vow for the sake of the outing. Gurú Guggá or Gogá seems to have been a Rájput hero who died in his attempts to stem the last invasion of Mahmúd of Ghazní in 1026 A. D. He is now a sort of saint with miraculous powers over snakes and able to give sons to the barren, and is much believed in by the lower orders of the Panjábís. (See my notes to 'Folklore in the Panjáb'—No. XII, *Indian Antiquary*, 1882.)

Asán, Panj. we, used like the Hindí *ham*, for I.

jo = ko, to, also the sign of the objective case.

bo and *abo*, hill dialect = Panj. vo, an exclamation; oh! you! my dear, my friend.

battá = Hind. baṭ and bāt, a road, path, hill dialect.

bich = Panj. vich, in, cf. Hind. bích, between.

gallán kar'ná, *lit.*, to make words, to talk. *gall*, Panj. a word = Hind. bāt, in all its numerous idiomatic senses.

bahí, sitting. Cf. Hind. baiṭh'ná, biṭháná, bais'ná, baisáná, baisáeb, to sit, set. See song No. 5. To sit by the roadside and talk to passers by is about the most outrageous thing a native woman can do. See song No. 41.

19.

Aj to badháí bají Jas'rat Ráe ke !

Aj to badháí bají Jas'rat Ráe ke !

Big'sí Kusalyá Máí Rám Chandar jáe ke.

- Big'si seh dái-mái lalan naháeke.

Aj to badháí bají Jas'rat Ráe ke !

Aj to badháí bají Jas'rat Ráe ke !

Big'siá seh náí-bháí dúbh lagáeke.

Big'sí seh náan nagar buláeke.

A'j to badháí bají Jas'rat Ráo ke !
 A'j to badháí bají Jas'rat Ráo ke !
 Big'sí seh búá-rání cholú topú láéke.
 Big'sí Subhádará bahin kanth lagáéke.

A'j to badháí bají Jas'rat Ráo ke !
 A'j to badháí bají Jas'rat Ráo ke !
 Big'siá seh Ja'srat báp lanká luťáéke.
 Big'siá seh P'rohit ghar dá ánand páéke.
 A'j to badháí bají Jas'rat Ráo ke !
 A'j to badháí bají Jas'rat Ráo ke !

Kángará.

To-day are sung congratulations for Jas'rat Ráo !
 To-day are sung congratulations for Jas'rat Ráo !
 Kausalyá mother of Rám Chandar is pleased ;
 The nurse is pleased to wash the child.

To-day are sung congratulations for Jas'rat Ráo !
 To-day are sung congratulations for Jas'rat Ráo !
 The barber is pleased to plant the *dúbb* grass :
 The barber's wife is pleased to call the city.

To-day are sung congratulations for Jas'rat Ráo !
 To-day are sung congratulations for Jas'rat Ráo !
 The royal aunt is pleased to bring the little coat and cap :
 Sister Subhádará is pleased to embrace him.

To-day are sung congratulations for Jas'rat Ráo !
 To-day are sung congratulations for Jas'rat Ráo !
 Jas'rat the father is pleased to distribute to the poor :
 The family-priest is pleased to be paid his dues.
 To-day are sung congratulations for Jas'rat Ráo !
 To-day are sung congratulations for Jas'rat Ráo !

Notes.

This song or hymn is sung at births by *Doms* and also by *Hijras*, a class of eunuchs, who dress up as old women and obtain a living by singing such songs at births and marriages. They are I think dying out. They go about generally three together with a drum.

The song purports to congratulate Jas'rat Ráo, *i. e.*, king Daśaratha on the birth of Ráma Chandra ; there is, however, a mixture of mythology in it, as Subhádará was not the sister of Ráma but of Kṛishṇa. But the legends of Ráma and Kṛishṇa are often mixed up in popular song.

Badhái baj'ná, to make congratulatory music : to congratulate.

Big'sid, *big'sí* : Cf. *Hindí bikas'ná*, to be pleased. Observe peculiar masculine form *big'sid*, and the peculiar fem. *big'sí*.

Kausalyá was the mother of Ráma Chandra.

seh, hill dialect, he, the = *Hindí woh*, Panj. *so*. See song No. 45.

dúbh = *dúb*, the *dúb* grass, *synoda dactylus*. Cf. *sab* and *sabh*, all. *Dúb* grass, is presented at weddings and auspicious occasions by the lower orders for luck.

búa-rání, the royal aunt, father's sister.

cholu, *topu*, dim. forms ; the little cloak and cap. Friends or relatives always present and put the first clothes on to a baby. Parents never do so, as it would be unlucky.

Kanṭh lagáke, embrace, *lit.*, apply the throat or neck.

lanká lúṭáke : *lit.*, rob the store : distribute gifts among the poor.

ánand páke, *lit.*, receive pleasure ; to be paid fees or dues.

20.

Pahilá phul'jí tūn Náen ká !

Dújá nám Nárāyaná.

Pahilá Chait suháuná,

Je koi sunen agetá.

Appú siye, Kahaná, pag'riyá

Motiyán run-jhun láí,

Jugán tain jiyán, Káhaná ; bariyán lakhán

Hoyán putrán sahetá.

Kángará.

The first flower is thine, O Name.

The second name Nárāyaṇa.

The first of Chait is lucky

If any one hear it first.

Do thou, O Kṛishṇa, with turban sewn

With rattling pearls,

Live on, O Kṛishṇa, for ages and thousands of years

With thy posterity.

Notes.

This is a notable song as illustrative of the worship of 'The Name'. Nárāyaṇa or Ráma is here used for the deity as is usual in Sikh countries. *Nám*, *Rám Nám*, *Rám dá Nám*, the name of God is generally held to be greater than Ráma (God) himself.

The custom is to dedicate the first spring flower seen on a tree to Nám, and the second to Rám, thus giving Nám the first place. Observe the canonized form *phul-jí* for this first flower.

This song is sung by *Doms*, as they wander from house to house on the first of Chait (March-April), which in many parts is considered New Year's Day in the place of the first of Baisákh (April-May). It is considered very unlucky to mention the name Chait on this day, until one has heard it from the Dom.

The worship of Ráma and Kṛishṇa is again mixed up in this song.

Náen = *nám* = Panj. *nán*. The Name : the Name of God.

Agetá, Panj. before the time, prematurely. If he hear it before (he speaks it) : if he hear it first.

Appú = *áp*, mayest thou.

Run-jhun, rattle, tinkle. *Of*. Panj. *run-run*, tinkling, rattling : *jhan'jhanána*, Hind. and Panj. to rattle.

Bariyán, year. *barí*, vare, *barhí*, Panj. hill. dial. = Hind. *baras* a year. See song Nos. 23 and 32.

Sahetá, with ; also *heth*, Panj. hill. dial. = Hind. *sáth*. Sansk. *sahita*.

LOVE SONGS.

21.

Dhúp paí tar-tíkh'ní,
Ráe Mamóluwá bo,
Kihán karí hanḍaní bát ?
Merá man tain liyá bo.

Tum ghorá, ham pál'kí ;
Ráe Mamóluwá bo,
Chalí rah'nge ik'tiyo sáth :
Merá man tain liyá bo.

Tum sísá, ham ár'sí ;
Ráe Mamóluwá bo,
Baní rah'ndí goriyá den háth :
Merá man tain liyá bo.

Tum champá, ham mál'tí ;
Ráe Mamóluwá bo,
Khare rah'nge ik'tiyo bágḥ (? sáth) :
Merá man tain liyá bo.

Tum lóng, ham iláyachí ;
 Ráe Mamóluwá bo,
 Bik'ge pansáriye den hát :
 Merá man tain liyá bo.

Kángerá.

The sunshine is growing hot ;
 O Rai Mamólu.
 How shall we go along the road ?
 O you have captured my heart.

You be the horse, I the carriage ;
 O Rai Mamólu,
 We will go along together :
 O you have captured my heart.

You be the looking-glass, I the looking-glass ring ;
 O Rai Mamólu,
 Looking pretty on beauty's hand :
 O you have captured my heart.

You be the *champá*, I the *mál'tí* flower ;
 O Rai Mamólu,
 Standing together in the garden (? *only* together)
 O you have captured my heart.

You be the clove, I the cardamom ;
 O Rai Mamólu,
 We will be sold in the druggists' shop,
 O you have captured my heart.

Notes.

The point of this song lies in the antithesis of the masculine and feminine terms used by the girl to herself and her lover. This is very finely worked out ; thus, *ghorá* is masc. and *pál'kí*, fem. : *sísá*, masc., and *úr'sí* fem. : *champá*, masc. and *mál'tí*, fem. : *lóng*, masc. and *iláyachí*, fem.

paí = paṛí, fell : common Panj. form. See song Nos. 26, 47.

tar-tíkk'ná, very hot, burning ; used of spices. It probably means fresh and hot ; *tar*, fresh, + *tíkk'ná*, Panj., hot, pungent. Cf. Panj. and Hind. *tíkkhá*. Here it is applied to sunshine (*dhúp*).

Rae Mamólu, apparently a fanciful name attached only to this song. Perhaps for the common name Mólú (Mall). *Mamólá* is the pied wagtail. *bo*: see song No. 18.

rah'nge, rah'ndí; cf. *jáh'ng, dih'ng*; see song No. 15.

ik'tiyo, in one place, together. Cf. Panj. *ik'thaur, ik'hattá, ikattar*: Hind. *ik'hatta, ik'thá, ik'thaurá, ek'tho*. The deriv. is *ek*, one + *thaur* or *tháon*, place.

ár'sí, the ring worn by women on the thumb containing a small looking-glass.

baní rah'ndí: *ban rah'ná*, to look pretty, to be nice, to look well. *Ban'ná* can itself have this sense. See Fallon, art. *ban'ná*, 17.

den = *de*, Panj.; cf. nasalized inflection. See song No. 5.

goriyá, a beauty, belle. Poet., *lit.* fair.

champá, a shrub with yellow-scented flowers: *Michelia champaca*. (P) yellow oleander.

mál'tí, a white highly-scented flower. *Aganosma roxburghii*, (P) *frangipani*.

ik'tiyo bággh, I am nearly certain from the rhyme of the song that this is wrong, and that the line should run *khare rah'nge ik'tiyo sáth*.

22.

Piyá merá baid, sárá jag rogí;
Na jáne nabaj, kihán jīye rogí?

Lag rahí choṭ,
Sajan, mere man men
Lag rahí choṭ.

Piyá merá chalyá, main mhín kanen janán,
Kaḍḍh kaleje, prāp taji janán.

Lag rahí choṭ,
Sajan, mere man men
Lag rahí choṭ.

Mah'ngá bike, tán bhukhyán nahin rah'nán;
Missá-kissá andar bahí karí khánán.

Lag rahí choṭ,
Sajan, mere man men
Lag rahí choṭ.

Mah'ngá bike, tán nangiyán nahin rah'nán ;
 Moṭá-soṭa andar bahí karí lánán.

Lag rahí choṭ,
 Sajan, mere man men
 Lag rahí choṭ.

Gálín kaddhe, tán suní karí rah'nán,
 Chup-cháp ghare bich bahí karí kaṭ'nán.

Lag rahí choṭ,
 Sajan, mere man men
 Lag rahí choṭ.

Kāngrá.

My love is a physician, all the world is sick ;
 He knows not the pulse, how will the sick live ?

I am wounded,
 My friend, in my heart
 I am wounded.

My love goes away, I too go with him :
 Casting out my heart, giving up my life.

I am wounded,
 My friend, in my heart
 I am wounded.

If (food) be dear, I will not remain hungry ;
 Sitting in the house I will eat leavings.

I am wounded,
 My friend, in my heart
 I am wounded.

If (clothes) be dear, I will not remain naked ;
 Sitting in the house I will wear coarse cloths.

I am wounded,
 My friend, in my heart
 I am wounded.

If they abuse I will remain listening ;
 Sitting silently in the house I will bear it.

I am wounded,
 My friend, in my heart
 I am wounded.

Notes.

nabaj = nabz, the pulse : it is a curious word to use here when *nári* and *náryá baid*, a pulse-doctor, are available terms.

mhin, hill dialect = bhí, also, too, = Sansk. *api* : Panj. *ví*.

mhin, *kanen*, *jánán*, *bhukhyán*, *rah'nán*, etc. All specimens of the nasalized inflection. See song No. 5, etc.

kaddh'ná, Panj. to cast out. See song No. 33.

taj'ná, Panj. to give up.

missá-kissá, *lit.* mixed, food made from the leavings of various grains : frugal diet : coarse food.

bahí, sitting, see song No. 18.

gálí kaddh'ná, Panj. to abuse : *lit.* to cast out abuse.

kaṭ'nán, to bear with : put up with : Panj. *Cf.* the expressions, *din kaṭ'ná*, to pass the day : *kaid kaṭ'ná*, to bear imprisonment.

bich = Panj. *vich*, inside. See song No. 18.

23.

Amb charhí karí koel bole, bol'dá sabad suháuní.

“Bágán díye koele,

Báran tán barhiyán gorí dá kand ghar áyá,

Mang'dá soyán dá ság, asán kudhí déiye ?

Ammán jo puchhaní, bápúe puchhaní, jání hán

Ráiyán de bág, báge díyán Ráiyán, be.

Sassú jo puchhaní, main soh're jo puchhaní, jání hán

Ráiyán de bág, báge díyán Ráiyán, be.”

“Báhe the sóe, goriye, chhutiyán lar'ján lage the,

Motiyán de jhunje, asán kihán ṭoriye ?”

“Luchiyán pakáuní, tháliyá páuní, upar sóyán dá ság,

Kháyán be, muhíniyán be.”

“N'hoí, bo, dhoí, sej bichháí, áí-já, tún nájo yánien !

Janghán jo jikk, jahlú sóí main jánghá, tahlú jáyán tún pánien.”

Kágrá.

The cuckoo called, sitting in the mango tree, making a sweet call.

“O cuckoo of the gardens,

The beauty's husband has returned home after twelve years ;

He asks for fennel ; whence shall I give it ?

Asking my mother, asking my father, I will go

To the market-gardener's garden ; O to the market-gardener's garden.

Asking mother-in-law, asking father-in-law, I will go
To the market-gardener's garden ; O to the market-garden-
er's garden."

"The fennel is sown, my beauty, the leaves are small,
The fruit is like pearls ; how can I cut it?"

"The thin cakes are cooked and placed on the plate, the fennel
on the top :

O eat them, O my brave one !"

"Bathe, my dear, and wash, spread the bed, and come, thou
young and graceful one !

Shampoo my thighs : when I go to sleep, then go you for water."

Notes.

This is a difficult song to follow, owing to the confused way in which it is put together. The woman first addresses the cuckoo about her husband's return : the market-gardener then addresses her, then she her husband, and lastly her husband answers her.

Sabad, sab'd, Panj., a word, speech.

bágán, bág, báge, common corruptions of *bágh*, a garden.

díye, díyá, díyán, Panj. inflected forms of *dá, dí, de* = *ká, kí, ke* ; of.

bárán, soyán, ammán etc., all specimens of the nasalized inflection above noted. See song No. 5, etc.

bárán barhiyán, this term of twelve years is a sort of conventional expression to mean 'a long while.' It had its origin in the twelve years apprenticeship supposed to be undergone by saints and jogis. *barhí*, Panj. a year. See song Nos. 20 and 32.

kand = *kanth*, a husband.

soyán dá ság = *soá*, fennel, *anethum sowa*, a much-valued relish.

kudhí ? hill dialect : whence ? See song No. 27.

ammán jo, sassú jo, soh're jo, janghán jo, in all these cases *jo* = *ko*, to. See song No. 5.

ráyán = ráin = aráin, Panj. a caste of Muhammadans who are market-gardeners.

chhuṭiyán lar'ján, lit., small fringes (*chhuṭiyá* = *chhotá*), used for small leaves of a young plant.

motiyán de jhunje ; jhunjá or *jhúnjá*, dialectic = fruit. 'Fruit like pearls', means that the fruit or flower is still white and beaded, looking like beads on the plant, *i. e.*, the plant is still very young.

kíhán ? Panj. how ?

luchiyán = Hind. *luchái*, a soft thin cake fried in butter.

páuní (also *páná*) in Panj. = commonly Hind. *páná* to get; but also frequently in these songs = *dal'ná*, to place, put, cast, throw.

mukhimián, *mukhímí*, a brave man, a warrior; a village word corrupted from *muhimm*, Arab., a difficult thing. In Hind. it means a military exploit, a brave and difficult accomplishment.

bo, my dear, my love. See song No. 18.

nájo yánien, young and delicate beauty; *nájo* is a Hind. poet. corruption of *názuk*, Pers. delicate.

jahlú-tahlú, when-then. See song No. 15.

jánghá, fut. form; I will go, cf. *pánghí*, I will throw (*páná*) in song No. 45. See also songs Nos. 15, 21. *soí main jánghá*, I will go to sleep. Cf. song 44.

ái, *soí*, seems here, as in several other places, to be a termination of the conjunctive participle.

The address to the cuckoo commences with "*bágán díye koele*": the market-gardener speaks at "*báhe the soe*": the woman addresses her husband at "*luchiyán pakáuní*;" and the husband answers at "*n'hoí, bo, dhoí*."

24.

Pan'ghaṭ ko jal bharan jāṭ thī
Bat men man-rakhú án milá :
Dukh merá sárá jándá rihá bári,
Kál'já phule sáhi bahot khilá.

Káugrá.

I was going to the watering-place to draw water,
And my lover met me on the road :
All my trouble went away altogether,
And my heart blossomed greatly like a flower.

Notes.

Pan'ghaṭ = *páni-ghát*, the place by the river or well side, where women go for water.

ját, common vulgar Hindí form = *játá*, *játí*.

bat = *baṭ* = Hind. *bát* a road, see song No. 18.

man-rakhú, *lit.*, keeper of the heart, lover: cf. *chit-rakhú* song No.

27.

bári, enclitic, indeed, altogether: see song No. 7.

kál'já = *kalijá*, the heart (liver).

sáhi, hill dialect = *sá*, like.

25.

Koṭhí tán pániyán gher'wán, bo,
 Jit pher'wán rakhán dívár, piyáre.
 Kit barán, kit nikalán, bo múíye,
 Kityo nahín lag'dá jíú, piyáre.

Kángará.

The house I have built is large, my dear,
 In it I have built walls with doors all round, my love.
 Wherever I enter, wherever I go out; ah, my dear,
 Nowhere is any one for me to love, my love.

Notes.

tán = tá, Panj. = to, Hind. indeed.

tán, pániyán, gher'wán, pher'wán, etc., observe the nasalization. Cf. song No. 5, etc.

pániyán; koṭhí páná (or páuná), hill dialect, to build a house: cf. Panj. word páná and páuná, to place, put, throw. See song No. 23, etc.

gher'wán, pher'wán. Gher'wán = gherá, gher'wá or gher'dár, in Panj. and Hind. *lit.*, surrounding, enclosing, as applied to a dress means large, ample, full; in the hill dialect it is applied, as here, to a house or dwelling, to mean large, commodious. Pher'wán, *lit.*, surrounding, hill dialect, is applied to a house whose doors open from room to room all round. Thus a European bungalow in India would be described by a Kángará hill-man as gher'wá, large and pher'wá, with doors to every room. The point here is that "the house I have built is large and comfortable."

bo, my dear, see song No. 18.

jít-kit, inflected pron. forms Panj. = *jís-kís*: *it* and *ut* = *is* and *us* are similar ones.

bo múíye, also múíye bo and múíye. In the hill dialect used by women as an exclamation, hi! come here! I say! oh you! Also used sorrowfully, ah, my dear! alas, my dear! The Lúdiáná Panj. Dict. gives the following curious explanation of this word: "*múíye*, O dead one! spoken to a woman chidingly."

kityo = Panj. kití, anywhere.

jíú = jí, life, the heart. Cf. Panj. forms ghyo and gheú = ghí (see song No. 5) and kityo = kití, above. *Jí lag'ná* is an idiom, to be fond of, to be enamoured of, to love.

26.

Tere munhen dikhí kari
 Main bhatoí gayá.
 Tún tán hasí, bo, paí
 Maite riyóí gayá.

Kángará.

Seeing your face
 I became mad.
 Then you laughed, my dear,
 And tears fell from me.

Notes.

munhen, a strong example of the final nasalization frequently noted above.

bhatoí, mad. (?) = Hind. *bhutáhá*, possessed of a devil.

hasí paí = *hansí paí*, laughed. See song Nos. 21, 47.

riyoí, it is said that there are two verbs: *roná*, to weep, *riyoná*, to weep involuntarily.

maite = *maiton* and *maithon*: Panj. from me.

27.

Kyá karán! Ján main kuthú?
 Merá dhag'rá mil'dá hai nahín.
 Dhunḍ'kar sáre hí dekhá;
 Chit-rakhú mil'dá hai nahín.

Kágrá.

What shall I do? Whither shall I go?
 I cannot find my love.
 Searching everywhere I have seen,
 (That) the keeper of my heart is not found.

Notes.

Ján, a notable form = *já* nasalized.

Kuthú? = *kithú?* hill dialect. whither? *cf. kudhí?* where? in song No. 23. In the hills *tithú* is in that place; *uthú*, in that place; *kithú?* in what place? etc. The Panj. forms are *ethe*, *kithe*, etc. *Cf.* also the form *kusí* (hill dial.) = *kisí*, any one: song No. 31: and *kus?* song No. 53.

Chit-rakhú, *lit.*, keeper of the heart, a lover. See song No. 24 where the expression is *man-rakhú*, with precisely the same meaning.

28.

Re jádu kar'ke merá man mohyá:
 Re jádu kar'ke merá man mohyá:
 He jádu kar'ke merá man mohyá,
 Ap'ne begáne se khoyá.
 Re jádu kar'ke merá man mohyá:
 Re jádu kar'ke merá man mohyá.

Kágrá.

O with bewitchment my heart he fascinated :
O with bewitchment my heart he fascinated :
Ah with bewitchment my heart he fascinated.
I have lost my friends and acquaintances.
O with bewitchment my heart he fascinated,
O with bewitchment my heart he fascinated.

Notes.

Ap'ne begáne : *ap'ne*, one's own people ; *begáne*, people of other castes : the expression means 'friends and acquaintances.' Cf. song Nos. 16 and 36.

29.

Os pápí ne mujhe dekhá ek najar :
Tan man kí rahí nahín kuchh bhí khabar.

Kángará.

That wicked one gave me but one look :
And no recollection even of myself remained.

Notes.

Os, common Panj. pronunciation of *us*.
Tan man, *lit*, body and mind, *i. e.*, one's self.

30.

Nir'mohírá, tum se kabhí na bolungí ;
Kháke kaṭará, main ap mārungí
Nir'mohírá, tum se kabhí na bolungí ;
Kháke kaṭará, main ap mārungí.

Kángará.

You heartless wretch, I will never speak to you ;
Stabbing myself with a dagger, I will kill myself.
You heartless wretch, I will never speak to you ;
Stabbing myself with a dagger, I will kill myself.

Notes.

Nir'mohírá = Hind. *nir'mohi*, heartless, unloving : the root is *moh*, Sansk. and Hind., love : Panj., *mohur*.

31.

Pakhiyá lagiyán sune diyán lar'ján ;
Pakhiyá lagiyán sune diyán lar'ján :
Asán jo kusí diyán nahín gar'ján.
Pakhí loch dí laí-de.

Pakhiyá lage sune de bünde ;
 Pakhiyá lage sune de bünde :
 Asán bári kusi kane nahín künde.
 Pakhí loch dí laí-de.

Kángará.

The fan with the golden fringes ;
 The fan with the golden fringes :
 No one (else) is loved by me.
 Bring me the fan of my desire.

The fan with the golden tassels ;
 The fan with the golden tassels :
 Indeed I will speak to no one (else).
 Bring me the fan of my desire.

Notes.

pakhí, pakhiyá, Panj., *pakkhí* = *pankhí*, a small fan. Cf. Sansk. *paksha*, a wing, side of anything.

lagiyán, diyán, larján, garján, strong specimens of nasalized inflection. See song No. 5, etc.

sune, *suná*, hill dialect, gold. Cf. Hindi forms *soná, sauná, sunná*, son, gold.

diyán, see song No. 23: of.

Asán jo. Asán, Panj. (we) I. *jo, to*. See song No. 5.

kusi = *kisí*, inflected form, any one. See songs Nos. 23, 27 and 34.

larján, hill dialect, fringes = *jhálar*.

garján: corruption of غرض *gharaz*, necessary. *Lit.*, no one is necessary to me ; I love no one else.

loch, Panj., desire, wish.

laí-de, laí, conj. part. See song No. 23.

bünde, a tassel, silken drop hanging from a fan ; properly an earring, ear-drop Cf. Hind. *búnd*, (a drop of water) a drop ; Panj. *búndá*, a drop ; Hind. *phund'rá*, a tassel. Sansk. *vindu*, a drop of anything.

bári, enclitic, indeed. See song Nos. 7 and 24.

künde, *kúná*, Panj. to speak : also *kahíná* = Hind., *kah'ná*.

32.

Asán, bo, sunyá
 Terá byáh, bò, kítá :
 Jání, kyá, bo, kítá ?
 Múíye bo, Phulamún.

Baryá chhamáyá dí phérí ;
 Bédan hundí terí ;
 Aí milí-já, bo.

Múíye bo, Phulamún.

Kángará.

My dear, I have heard
 They have married you off, dear :
 My love, O what have they done ?
 Come to me, Phulamún.

There is the return after the year and the six months :
 My love is for you :
 Come and meet me, my dear,
 Come to me, Phulamún.

Notes.

The custom in the Panjáb is for the bride to return home to her parents awhile, after she has been married six months, and again after a year. The lover here reminds Phulamún (a common hill name for girls) of this custom, and says it is nothing to him that they have married her to another, if she will come to him when she comes home again.

bo, my dear. See song No. 18.

kitá, common form of the past tense of *karná* in Panj.

múíye bo, come here. See song No. 25.

baryá, of a year. See song Nos. 20 and 23. *barí* and *barhí*, a year = Hind. baras, Panj. var, vare. Cf. Sansk. varsha, Prák. variso, varihu* Panj. varihá.

bédan, love, hill dialect. Cf. Sansk. root *vid*, to perceive, feel, possess, acquire, marry. Panj. vedhná, to contract an amorous friendship. Hind. bedná and bedhná, to ache, pain.

hundí, Panj. form of *hotí*, is.

ái, milí, conj. parts. See song No. 23.

33.

Main tere nál bhulke nihorá láyá.
 Láyá, tán janam ganwáyá.
 Main tere nál bhulke nihorá láyá.
 Kaḍḍh be kaleje main hájar karní ;
 Akhir putar paráyá.
 Main tere nál bhulke nihorá láyá.
 Chun chun kaliyán main sej bichháná ;

* [*Varihu* is a conjectural Prákrit form. Ed.]

Khol taní gal láyá
Main tere nál bbulke nihorá láyá.

Panjáb.

I was mistaken in bringing favours to you.
I brought them and I was ruined.
I was mistaken in bringing favours to you.
I took out my heart and I gave it you :
In the end you were a stranger.
I was mistaken in bringing favours to you.
Taking young flowers I spread a soft bed ;
I opened my dress and I fell on your neck.
I was mistaken in bringing favours to you.

Notes.

nál, Panj. with = se.

nihorá, Panj. and Hind. *nihorá*, favour, kindness.

ganwáná, gawáundá, Panj. to lose, waste. *Janam ganwáná* = Hind. *janam bigápná*, to spoil one's life, to be ruined for life. See song No. 3.

Kaðḍh kaleje, Panj. *lit.*, casting out my heart, giving up my heart. See song No. 22.

hájar karní, (*hazar* = *házir*, present) to make present ; give up.

putar paráyá, lit., a stranger's son, a stranger, estranged.

chun chun kaliyán, etc. It is not uncommon for the rich to have *belá* (jasmine) flowers picked and spread into a bed, over which they spread a sheet. This is done in *Sáwan* (July-Aug.) when these flowers are plentiful. Similarly rose leaves are used in *Phágun* (March-April.) Fallon *New Hind. Dict.* art. *sej*, gives a riddle which commences exactly as this verse.

Chun chun kaliyán sej bichave,
Kadhí na pí ke nere áve ;
Jab dekhe pí ankh ughár,
Chanchlá chálí, anchlá jhár.

gal láyá, idiom, I fell on your neck : I embraced you.

34.

Tain kajo láí thí is kane prit ?
Eh tán hai sáre jag dá chaṭorá :
Kusí dá nahín hoyá mít.

Kángará.

Why did you give your love to him ?
He is indeed a world-wide libertine :
He was never a friend to any one.

Notes.

kajo ? hill dialect, why ?
chaṭorá, a libertine, properly an epicure, one who lives on the best of things.

kusi = kissí. See song Nos. 23, 27, 31.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

35.

Be muṇḍiyá, tain nún
 Chirá rangáwán gule nár dá :
 Terí kaglí dí ajab bahár, we !
 Be larke, be larke,
 Kanjar-kháne dá jáná chhoṛ de !

Kángará.

Ah my boy, for thee
 I will dye a turban like a pomegranate flower :
 Ah ! the wondrous beauty of thy aigrette !
 Ah my boy, ah my boy,
 Leave off going to the prostitute's quarter !

Notes.

This song is sung by the young women attending the *ḥarát* or marriage procession, and is addressed by way of chaff to any man, young or old, they may happen to meet. It is said that the use of such children's terms as *be*, *muṇḍiyá*, and *larke* to grown men is a severe hit.

be, Panj. women's expression used to young children—Ah ! Oh you, O.
chirá, a fine turban of many colours.

gule nár, *gulnár*, pomegranate colour, is a favourite dye—see Leitner, *Linguistic Fragments*, Panj. Secretariat Press, 1882.

kaglí, hill dialect, the brush-like ornament used in turbans, an aigrette. It is a corruption of the Turki word *kalghí*. *Kaglí* is used to mean also a reward of honour from the old practise of giving aigrettes as a military reward : in this sense too it is used ironically, thus ; *tijju barí kaglí lagi gayí* ! (hill dial.) a fine reward you have got ; a fine thing you have made of it.

kanjar, *kanjar*, a mat-weaver ; in the Panj., however, the prostitute class (*kanchan*). *Kanjri*, Panj. a prostitute ; this sense is said to have arisen from the very loose character of the Kanjar women.

36.

Bábal morá re, naiyar chhuṭá jáe ;
 Chár kahár morí jí, ḍoliyá le-áo, re :
 Apná begáná chhuṭá jáe.

Kángará.

Ah my father, I must leave my house ;
 Four bearers, dear, have brought my palanquin ; alas !
 I must leave my friends and acquaintances.

Notes.

This song is sung when the bride leaves for her husband's house. Fallon *New Hind. Dict.* art. *apná* quotes from the North-West Provinces this song in words almost identical with the above. He calls it the Departure Song or *cháhlí ká gít*.

Apná bigáná chhuṭá jáe !
 Bábal re, morá naiyar chhuṭá jáe !

naiyar, Hind. poet. for naihar, the father's or parent's house, one's home.

apná begáná, friends and acquaintances. See song No. 28.

37.

Bedardí swámí ne mujhko
 Phúlchhariyon se mārā, re :
 Chhariyon se mārí ná marúngí ;
 Bolan se atí mārā, re.

Kángará.

My hard-hearted husband
 Beat me with flower-sticks, alas !
 Beaten with flower-sticks I will not die ;
 (But) he beat me much with words, alas !

Notes.

On the 4th day after the marriage it is the custom for the bride and bridegroom to fight a duel with light sticks covered with flowers.

Phulchhari, *chhari*, a light stick covered with flowers used for the purpose of this duel. The duel is of course a sham one and has led to a proverb quoted by Fallon, *New Hind. Dict.* art. *chhari*. Main ne is ke phúl kí chhari bhí nahín mārí, I never touched him at all.

atí is pure Sansk. very much, much, = Hind. atká, atkí.

38.

Chacharúen dittá ták,
 Ki maungnún khúb laryá;
 Súbe dyán laryán mári mirk,
 Keh yár ghare bich baryá.

Kángará.

The tick gave a bite,
 At the same time the bug bit well;
 (So) Súbá's wife made a sign,
 So that her friend entered the house.

Notes.

In the Kangra District, when the bridegroom goes to claim his bride, it is nearly a universal custom for his bride's female relatives to sit him down to a dinner. They then sit round him and proceed to chaff him about his relatives. Among the rich nothing that is considered indecent is allowed; among the poor the songs are so broad as to be untranslatable. The above and the three next songs are those sung on such occasions in rich and well-to-do houses.

Súbá is here merely a generic name and represents any relative of the bridegroom who may happen to be married. Any other name can be inserted.

The point of this song is that Súbá's wife makes the bites of the ticks and bugs which infest her person the excuse for letting her lover into the house. The song is valuable as expressing what the rich in Kangra consider inoffensive chaff, and as showing their excessively dirty personal habits.

chacharúen: *chacharú*, hill dial., a tick, flea = Hind. and Panj. *chichrá*, *chichrí*. *en*, nasalized inflect. See song No. 5.

dittá, Panj. = *diyá*, gave.

ták, hill dial., bite of flea or tick.

ki, explained to mean in the hill dial. '*ussí wakt*,' at that very moment.* I am inclined, however, to consider it is connected with or represents the Panj. conjunction *ke*, or.

maungnún, hill dial., a bug.

laryán, hill dial., a wife, cf. Hind. and Panj. *láḍ*, *lár*, love, endearment: Hind. and Panj. *láḍlá*, *láḍlí*, darling, dear; Hind., *láḍo*, pet; Panj. *láḍu*, love; *láḍulá*, darling; *láḍo*, favourite daughter; Hind. and Panj. girl's name, *Láḍo*: Panj. *lári*, bride.

mirk marná, to sign to, beckon, hill dial.

bich, inside, into. See song No. 18.

* [*ki* in this sense, "when," "just when," is a wellknown idiomatic expression in Hindi. Ep.]

39.

Bágen gájar mǔlǐ,
 Merá man boldá :
 Rámen dári munḍhán dí gajǔlǐ,
 Merá man boldá.

Kángará.

The carrot and radish of the garden
 My heart desires :
 Ráma's wife, wanton from the beginning,
 My heart desires.

Notes.

This is the second of the four chaffy marriage songs. See song No. 38.

bágen, *Rámen*, good instances of the nasalized inflect. See songs 38 and 5, etc.

gájar mǔlǐ is a common idiom to signify anything worthless; hence the sting of this song.

man boldá, idiom, *lit.*, my heart speaks; I desire, wish for, want.

Rámen, as *Súbá* in song 38, this is merely a generic name, any other would do.

dári, hill dial., wife. Cf. Hind., *dará*, a woman; *dári*, slave-girl, concubine; whence Hind. and Panj. *dáridár*, a bastard. The *Lúdiáná* Panj. Diet. says *dári* is a female slave taken in war, but is used as a term of sportive abuse. Perhaps 'Ráma's woman' would be the best rendering here.

munḍhán, Panj. *munḍh*, *muḍḍh*, the beginning. Cf. Panj. and Hind. *munḍ*, the head: Hind. *munḍh*, *muḍḍh*, chief, head.

munḍhán dí, from the beginning.

gajǔlǐ, hill dial. (*lit.*, itching) wanton.

40.

Rámen diyán láríyán khádá nimbwe dá chár.
 Peṭen ṭumb hoí.

Okambá.

Ráma's wife eats lime pickle,
 And has a feeling in her stomach.

Notes.

This is the third of the chaffy marriage songs. See song No. 38. It is a *double entendre*.

Rámen, peṭen, nasalized inflect., see previous song.

láriyán, wife. See song No. 38.

chár = *áchár* or *achchár*, pickle.

ṭumb, Panj. touch, feeling.

41.

Rúpe dáriyán
Batte bich gallán kítíyán ;
Sun, kítíyán, jī !
Dárúye diyán kaṭoriyán pítíyán ;
Sun, pítíyán, jī !

Chambá.

Rúpá's wife
Sits by the roadside talking,
Listen, talking, Sir !
Drinking cups of wine,
Listen, drinking, Sir !

Notes.

This is the last of the chaffy marriage songs. See song No. 38. To sit by the roadside and to talk to the passers by is considered the height of impropriety in a woman (see song No. 18), and here it is added to by drinking wine.

dáriyán, wife. See song No. 39.

batte bich gallán kítíyán. See song No. 18, where almost the same expression occurs in the same sense.

Home Customs.

42.

Ajji main ne jáná ho ap'ne des :
Sundar kar'ke bhes, bánká kar'ke bhes.
Nir'mal jal, bári ṭhaṇḍ'ri pawan hai,
Mukh'rá dekh'ná bes.
Ajji main ne jáná ho ap'ne des.

Kángará.

To-day I must go to my own country :
Making myself handsome, making myself smart.
(There) the water is pure, and the wind is cool,
And the faces beautiful to look upon.
To-day I must go to my own country.

Notes.

ajji = *áj*, to-day.

bári, also, moreover. See song No. 7.

ṭhaṇḍ'rí = ṭhaṇḍí, cold. The insertion of *r* and *r* in such words is not uncommon. See song Nos. 44, 45.

bes, (a curious word) the best. Fallon, *New Hind. Dict.* has *bis*, adj., better, more excellent.

43.

"Ní kuryé, já tún sauh'rián piṇḍ!"

"Ḍúngí khúí te ghará nahín khich'dá."

"Lai, lai hath wich ṭiṇḍ!"

Ní kuryé, já sauh'rián de piṇḍ!"

Panjáb.

"My daughter, go you to your husband's village!"

"The well is deep and the water-pot does not draw."

"Take a small water-pot in your hand!"

My daughter, go to your husband's village!"

Notes.

This song is a hit at the hard work, young wives are made to do in their husband's houses, and their unwillingness to leave their own homes.

ní, vocative exclamation used towards women. Panj.

kurí, Panj., a virgin; but used by parents to their daughters, married or unmarried.

sauh'rián piṇḍ, *sauh'rá*, father-in-law, *sauh'rián*, Panj. parents-in-law.

piṇḍ, Panj. a village. *Sauh'rián de piṇḍ*, Panj. parents-in-law's village = husband's home.

te = ate, Panj. and.

ghará, *ṭiṇḍ*; *ghará*, the ordinary earthen pot for water; *ṭiṇḍ*, Panj. the small earthen water-pot used with a Persian-wheel in wells; here obviously used for the dim. of *ghará*.

wich = *vich* = *bich*; inside, in. See song No. 18.

khich'dá = *khainch'tá*, draws. Cf. *úchián*, next song.

44.

Gharyán, be tún chhail lohára,

U'chián ḍaṇḍián díurá, be.

Díurá bál'sán sammak-rátí,

At'rá ghol'sán baṛiyá parátí:

Main ghar bír práhunán, be.

Bh'ro, bh'ro, be gad'wá, thand'ren pánien ;
 Bír dharyáyá ghar gayá, be.
 Kháyán, be bírá, bare bare g'ráhen,
 Sas'rí áwasí karkasá, be.
 Áwasín, áwasín, merá kyá kar'sín ?
 Ik gharí pal páhunán, be.

Kángará.

Forge me, oh thou good blacksmith,
 A lamp with a tall stem, O.
 I will burn the lamp all night,
 And I will mix flour on a large plate ;
 I entertain my brother in my house, O.
 Fill, fill, O cup, with cold water ;
 My brother goes thirsty to the house, O.
 Eat, O brother, large mouthfuls,
 Mother-in-law will come scolding, O.
 She will come, she will come : what will she do to me ?
 I am only entertained an hour, O.

Notes.

The nasalized inflect. so often above noted is very strongly marked here. *Gharyán* and *kháyán* are imperatives ; again in *úchián dandíán* we have the fem. form of it, and in *thand'ren pánien* the masc. form. See song No. 47.

úchá = *unchá*, tall. Cf. songs Nos. 31, 45, 50, 47, 43.

dandí, the beam of a pair of scales : the stem of the tall kind of Indian brass lamp.

díúrā = *díurá* = *diá*, a lamp.

bál'sán, ghol'sán ; fut. forms masc. : *áwasín, áwasí, kar'sín* ; fut. forms masc. Cf. song Nos. 15, 21, 23.

sammak-ráti, Panj., all night. *sammak*, all, the whole, is only found in this phrase : (?) connected with *sab, sabh*, all.*

át'rá = *átā* : *thand'ren* = *thande* : *práhunán* = *páhunán*. All instances of the insertion of *r* and *r*. See song No. 42.

práhunán, páhunán, to entertain : *páhu*, a guest.

bh'ro, bh'ro = *bharo, bharo* ; fill, fill.

gad'wá, Panj., a small brass drinking vessel (*lotá*).

dharyáyá, hill dial., thirsty. Cf. Panj. *tis, tih* and *treh*, thirst : *tihái*, thirst and *tiháiá*, thirsty. (?) *dharyáyá* = *treháiá*, thirsty.

g'ráhen, mouthfuls : *garáh* or *garás*, a handful of food as eaten by the hand, a mouthful.

[* It is a *semitatsama* word, for Sanskrit *samyak*. Ed.]

45

"Ghar ghar d'rekán phuliyán ;
 Tinhán d'rekán dí t̥haṇḍ'ri chháún,
 Bo bháiyá, lai-chal."

"Agen seh naḍiyán ḍughiyán :
 Tún tán rah ap'niyán sassú den pás,
 Bo bhainen, rah ghar.

Agen seh kutte bhaunk'de ;
 Tun rah ap'niyán sassú den kol,
 Bo bhainen, rah ghar."

"Kuttyán jo pánglí churí,
 Bo bháiyá, lai-chal.
 Lai-chal ammán den pás,
 Bo bháiyá, lai-chal.

Kágrá.

"(Where) the lilacs flower at every house ;

(Where) the shade of the lilacs is cool,

O brother, take me."

"In front the rivers are deep :

Do you then remain with your mother-in-law ;

O sister, remain at home.

"In front the dogs bark ;

Remain with your mother-in-law ;

O sister, remain at home."

"I will throw cakes to the dogs ;

O brother, take me.

Take me to my mother :

O brother, take me.

Notes.

d'rek = bakáyan ; the Persian lilac, *melia composita*. It is almost the shadiest tree in India, better even than the *ním*, its relative. It is also related to the *tún* and the mahogany. It bears large bunches of lilac flowers, and may be seen along the roadsides in several Panjáb districts. Fallon, *New Hind. Dict.* wrongly calls it the oleander (see art. بکاین) the proper name for which is kaner or kanail and the scientific name *nerium odorum*. Fallon by the way (art. کنیر) renders kaner, too, by oleander.

tinhán, Panj., those, they, the.

t̥haṇḍ'ri ; see song Nos. 42, 44.

chháún, Panj. = Sansk. and Hind. chháya, shade.

seh, he, she, it, that, the. See song No. 19.

bhainen, en is a curious inflect. here, as *bahin* is fem., see song No. 44.

bhainon for *bahino*, occurs in song No. 47, *q. v.*

kuttyán jo, *jo* = *ko*, to. See song No. 5.

páng hí fut. form of *pána*, to throw. See songs Nos. 23, 25.

den = *de*, of, Panj.; see song No. 21. *den pás* = *ke pás*: *den*

kol = *de kol*, Panj., = *ke pás*, Hind.

46.

Dhuron Láhoron nimbú áyá, áí-bíkyá bajár ;

Meryá ras'liá nimbuá múlen liyá.

Laikar paisá, haťán jo dauryá nimbú ánde chár ;

Meryá ras'liá nimbuá múlen liyá.

Laikar p'rát'ri chíran baithí, tuk're kíte chár ;

Meryá ras'liá nimbuá múlen liyá.

Laikar nimbú chhamke páyá, musak gayí bajár ;

Meryá ras'liá nimbuá múlen liyá.

Laikar nandán bhái sikhá-liyá, 'bhábo kaḍḍh búhe báh'r ;

Meryá ras'liá nimbuá múlen liyá.

Laikar sothá maran lagyá ; bhábo nún kaḍḍhya báh'r ;

Meryá ras'liá nimbuá múlen liyá.

Laikar átá gundhan baithá, kar-dittá pan'sár.

Meryá ras'liá nimbuá múlen liyá.

Koṭhen chaṛhí karí hakkán maryán, 'á-já ghar dí nár' ;

Meryá ras'liá nimbuá múlen liyá.

Laikar kar'chhí aggí jo dauryá : lokán dittí phať'kár ;

Meryá ras'liá nimbuá múlen liyá.

Kángará.

From far Láhor limes came and were sold in the bazaar ;

I bought juicy limes.

Taking money I ran to the shops and bought four limes :

I bought juicy limes.

Taking a knife I sat down to peal them ; I cut them in four ;

I bought juicy limes, .

Taking the limes I made a relish (with them) ; the smell reached the bazaar ;

I bought juicy limes.

Taking him my husband's sister taught her brother, 'Turn my brother's wife out of the house.'

I bought juicy limes.

Taking a stick he began to beat me : he turned the brother's wife out.

I bought juicy limes.

Taking flour he sat down to knead, and he made it watery.

I bought juicy limes.

Getting on to the roof he shouted out, 'come, my house-wife.'

I bought juicy limes.

Taking the ladle he ran to the fire : the people cried shame ;

I bought juicy limes.

Notes.

dhuron Lāhoron, Panj. inflect. *from afar, from Lāhor*.

ái-bikyá, ái conj. part. ; see songs Nos. 32, 23.

ras'liá = *rasílá*, juicy.

múlen liyá, common hill phrase, bought. *múlen*, inflected nasally from Panj. *mull* or *múl*, price (= Hind. *mól*).

ánde, Panj. form of *áte* = *lit. came*. Here used idiomatically for 'to get.' See song No. 56.

haťán jo = *háťon ko*, to the shops.

p'rát'ri, in the hill dialect, a paring knife or instrument. *parátí* and *parát* is a large dish usually, and Panj. *parát'rá* is a wooden kneading trough. See song No. 44. This word *p'rát'ri* is a curious one.

chúr'ná, to peal = Hind. *chhí'l'ná*.

chhamk'ná, Panj. = Hind. *chhaunk'ná*, to fry spices in butter. Hind. *bagkár'ná*, = Panj. *tur'kh'ná*, means to pour hot butter on to spices. All these words have the sense of to season. The seasoning here referred to, called in Panj. *neurá*, is thus made. Chillis or spices are mixed with oil or *ghí* and fried till the mixture burns, slices of lime are then thrown in. While cooking the smell is so pungent as to make all near it cough and sneeze, and so penetrating as to make the neighbours unpleasantly aware of what is going on.

musak = mushk, smell, odour.

kađđh búhe báh'r, cast her beyond the threshold ; Panj. *kađđh'ná*, Panj. to cast, throw. *búhá*, Panj. threshold. *báh'r* = *bahir*, outside, beyond.

nún, Panj. (= *ko*) to.

pan'sár, watery, thin. (?) *Páni*, water, (in Panj. in composition, *pan*) + *sár*, all.

koťhá (*koťhen*, masc. nasal. inflect, see above, *passim*) the upper story (*bálá khána*) of a house, the roof.

hakkán mar'ná, hill dial., to shout out, call out.

kar'chhi = *kar'chhi*, a brass ladle.

aggí jo = *ág ko*, to the fire. *jo*, see song No. 5.

lokán = *logon* (log), people, (they).

phať'kár, blame ; usually a curse, malediction. *phať'kár dená*, to cry fie or shame on, to blame.

47.

Bhainon ! sás gayí Láhór : main ghar thamýán, bhainon !
 Bhainon ! pahilá hath páyá koṭhí áte dí, bhainon !
 Dúyá hath páyá kúpá ghíúe dá, bhainon !
 Tíjá hath páyá cháṭá gure dá, bhainon !
 Bhainon ! pahilá púrā báhyá, billián chhikkyá, bhainon !
 Bhainon ! dúyá púrā báhyá, paṛes'ní puchhyá, bhainon !
 Bhainon ! tríá púrā báhyá, sas áí-rahí, bhainon !
 Tawe heṭh lukáyá, roṭi pakáwani, bhainon !
 Bhainon ! jhúnde heṭh lukáyá, mathá ṭek'nán, bhainon !
 Bhainon ! pírhíyá heṭh lukáyá, pírbí sas dí, bhainon !
 Bhainon ! néi kúne satyá, chúhá bhuṛ'kyá, bhainon !
 Bhainon ! néi láphiá satyá, sihi tapyá, bhainon !
 Bhainon ! soh'ren pak'rí dāng, jethen mung'rí, bhainon !
 Bhainon ! soh're dí bhají-gaí jangh, jeṭhe dí ung'lí, bhainon !
 Bhainon ! unhán jo paí-gaí ap'ní, main púrā chhaki-líá, bhainon !

Kágrá.

Sisters, mother-in-law went to Láhór : I had charge of the house, sisters !
 Sisters, first my hand found the flour-binn, sisters !
 Secondly my hand found the ghí-bag, sisters !
 Thirdly my hand found the sugar-pot, sisters !
 Sisters, I baked the first sweet-cake and the cat sneezed, sisters !
 Sisters, the second sweet-cake I baked and the neighbour asked ques-
 tions, sisters !
 Sisters, the third sweet-cake I baked and mother-in-law came, sisters !
 I hid it under the baking-pan, baking bread, sisters !
 Sisters, I hid it under my veil, making my obeisance, sisters !
 Sisters, I hid it under the chair, mother-in-law's chair, sisters !
 Sisters, taking it I threw it into a corner and a rat snatched at it,
 sisters !
 Sisters, taking it I threw it into the home-field, a tiger leapt across
 sisters !
 Sisters, father-in-law seized a stick, brother-in-law a mallet, sisters !
 Sisters, father-in-law's thigh was broken and brother-in-law's finger,
 sisters !
 Sisters, each of them got his own (troubles), I eat the cake, sisters !

Notes.

Bhainon, see song No. 45.

koṭhí, (*cf.* *koṭhā*, in previous song) an inner (or upper) room in native houses used as a storeroom ; larder, granary, store-room.

kúpá ghíúe dá, the leathern *ghí* vessel. *ghyo, ghíú, gheú*, Panj. = *ghí*; see song No. 5. *Kupá, kúpá, kuppá*, the large leathern vessel used for keeping *ghí*.

cháúá, the vessel for receiving the juice of the sugarcane as it comes from the mill. *cháúá gure dá* the molasses pot. For an accurate description of *gur* and the native processes of sugar-making, see Carnegie's *Kachahri Technicalities*, art. *úkh*.

púrú báhyá: I put the cakes to bake: I put it on the fire. *roṭí bákh'ná*, to put bread on to the fire, is a common expression; *lit.*, to make the bread expand. This sense of *bákh'ná* seems to have escaped the Dicts. The *púrú* is a sweet cake made of *ghí, gur* and flour.

chhíkkyá: *chhikk'ná*, Panj., = Hind. *chhínk'ná*, to sneeze. Cf. *pakhí* = *pankhí*, song No. 31. And *ḍughá* = *dúng'há*, song No. 45; *úchá* = *unchá*, song No. 44. The sneezing of a cat (or in fact any sneezing) is considered a bad omen in India. Cf. song No. 50.

paṛes'ní = *paṛosan*, a female neighbour: my neighbour became inquisitive.

tawá, Hind., an iron plate for baking bread, a griddle. Fallon.

jhúṇḍá (Panj. *jhuṇḍ*, Hind., *chádar*), a cloth worn by women over their heads and faces to conceal them.

mathá tek'nán, *lit.*, I struck my forehead; I prostrated myself. The Kángará custom is for young wives or the girls of a family to prostrate themselves and touch the feet of any old female relative on seeing her for the first time in the day. The mother is excepted.

pír'híyá, pírhí; a low stool with a high straight back used by native women.

neí (conj. part., see song Nos. 23, 32) from Panj. *nená* (= *lená*, Hind. *n* for *l*), to take.

satýá; *sat'ná*, hill dial., to throw.

bhuṛ'khyá (*lit.* jumped, leapt), used of a rat or mouse, to scratch, pull at, make a noise.

lár'hí, lári, lah'ri, lárhiá, hill dial., the field adjoining the house, the home-paddock, the compound.

mung'ri, hill dial., a small wooden mallet used for patting earth.

bhaj'ná, Panj., to be broken. Cf. Hind. *bhúch'ná*, to be crushed Sansk. root, *prich*.

unhán jo, to them, *vide supra*.

pai-gai, had befallen. On them their own (troubles) had fallen. *painá* Panj. = Hind. *paṛ'ná*, see songs Nos. 21, 26.

chhakí, conj. part. (see *neí*, above), from *chhak'ná*, Panj., to eat.

billián chhíkkyá and *soh'ren pak'ri*. These are good examples of the nasal inflect. so frequently noted above. Here in both cases used for the

agent with *ne*; *úan*, fem. and *en*, masc. This is very common in the hills. *E. g.*, as familiar examples, *ghoríán khaí liyá*, the mare eat it: *ghoren khaí liyá*, the horse eat it. See song Nos. 44, etc.

48.

Jhul, jhul, meriye pakhiye; lap lap kar'de nág;
 Bír biyáh'ná chalyá mundhen sab'j kumán:
 Bír biyáhá áyá áí-baiṭhá ṭhaṇḍhe bág.
 Ral milá, saheliyo: bhábo dekhán jánán,
 Bhábo dá kí dekh'ná? Sánwal'ri mutyár!
 Bháiyá sádá hai garib'nán: bhábo hai chak-chál!

Kángará.

Move in and out, my fan, as the snake turns and twists:
 My brother has gone to his wedding with his green bow on his shoulder.

My brother has returned married, and sits in a cool garden.
 Come together, maids,—to go and see our sister-in-law.
 What is there to see in our sister-in-law? She is nut-brown and full grown!

Our brother is meek: our sister-in-law is tricky.

Notes.

pakhiye, pakhi, = *pankhí*, a small fan. See song No. 31.

lap lap kar'ná, to twist in and out, to wriggle along: hill dial. *Of.* Panj., *laph*, a wave, surge, billow; Hind., *lap jhap chál*, a rapid awkward gait; *lip'na*, to bend as a cane.

mundhen sab'j kumán: green bow on shoulder, fully armed or dressed. *Mundhen*, nasal inflect., on the shoulder. In the old days in Kángará, the carrying of a green bow was the sign of being fully got-up for a holiday occasion. Green is the usual colour for luck in India.

mutyár, Panj., a fully developed girl: grown-up girl: a girl of the age of puberty. Also = *moṭá*, fat, stout.

sádá, Panj. = *asádá*, our.

chak-chál, hill dial., clever, sharp, tricky. *Of.* Hind. *chik'ná*, oily; *chik'ni-chup'ri bát*, oily speech, flattery: *chak'má*, a trick.

49.

"Ní budhyé, búhe de wich hai chuh'rá;
 Tán sít-de ghar dá kúrá;
 Tur'te lai jáwe."

Bhábí nún ákhiá, "jhab'ke kurá kaḍḍh siṭṭ"
 "Muṇḍe nún roṭí khuláwe :
 Muṛ'ke lai jáwe."

Panjáb.

"Grandmother, the sweeper is at the doorway ;
 Then throw him the house-rubbish,
 That he may quickly take it away."
 Then he said to his sister-in-law, "throw him the rubbish at once."
 "I am giving the boy bread ;
 Let him come again and take it."

Notes.

Moral, it never gets done at all.

búhe, Panj., threshold ; see song No. 46.

vich = vich = bich, inside, Panj. See song No. 18.

chúh'rá, Panj., a sweeper.

siṭṭ'ná, Panj., throw away : cast away.

kaḍḍh siṭṭ, Panj., emphatic, both verbs meaning to throw. See song

No. 46.

muṛ'ke, Panj., returning.

50.

Tún tán dede, be faqírá,
 Mainún achhí, be, dawái.
 Tún tán dede, be hakímá,
 Mainún achhí, be, dawái.
 Jíh'te jhaṭ'paṭ ákhán bich
 Dedewe dikhái.

Panjáb.

Do you then, O faqír, give
 Me good medicine, O.
 Do you then, O doctor, give
 Me good medicine O.
 From which quickly in my eyes
 Sight may be given.

Notes.

mainún, Panj., = main nún, to me.

jíh'te = jis'se, from which : *te* = *to* = *ton*, Panj., = *se* and *te*, Hind., from, with.

ákhán = ákhán, eyes ; see song Nos. 44, 45, 31, 47, 56 for the omission of this *n*.

NURSERY RHYMES.

51.

Merá khinún nahín mil'dá, we !
 Main kithe já dhunqángí ?
 Kujh bás nahín áundi :
 Main kithe já súnghángí ?

Panjáb.

My ball I cannot find, O !
 Where shall I go and search ?
 No smell comes from it :
 Where shall I go and smell ?

Notes.

khinún, khinnú, khiddú, khiddo, Panj., a small ball or plaything :
 a child's bouncing ball.

we = *be*, O !

kithe ? Panj., *lit.*, in what place ? where ?

52.

A, re koko ; já, re koko !
 Jangal pakke bér :
 (Merá bíbí sone máng'tá ;)
 Dam'í ke do ser.

Panjáb.

Come, O crow ; go, O crow !
 The wild-plums are ripe in the jangal :
 (My baby wants to sleep ;)
 Two sers for a pie.

Notes.

This and the next three songs are sung by my ayahs, Panjábís, to my son aged about a year, to send him to sleep. They seem to be standard songs for English babies, but I do not know for certain if they are sung by the women to their own children.

koko ; a crow, child's bugbear : bugaboo.

ber, the wild-plum : *Zyziphus jujuba*.

bíbí, a little baby, applied to any European baby, male (as here) or female : probably it is a corruption of the English word 'baby.'

dam'í, a pie : a nominal coin : for nothing, for a song.

53.

Nindí, nindí, bíbí !
 Roṭi, makhan, chíní !

Panjáb.

Sleep, sleep, baby !
 Bread, butter and sugar !

Notes.

This is a song in English nurseries. See song No. 52.

nindí = nind, sleep. *Nindí* is the usual form of the word in nurseries. *E. g.* *Nindí karo*, go to sleep, is a very common expression by ayahs towards very young children.

bíbí, baby. See song No. 52.

54.

Merá bíbí sotá,
 Bilátí pankhá chal'tá hai :
 Merá bíbí sotá,
 'Arab ká pání pitá hai :

Panjáb.

My baby sleeps,
 The thermantidote is working :
 My baby sleeps,
 And drinks pure water.

Notes.

An English nursery song. See song No. 52.

bíbí, baby. See song No. 52.

Bilátí pankhá = Viláyatí pankhá or English pankhá, which is the ordinary Hind. and Panj. term among the servants of the English for the thermantidote.

'*Arab ká pání*, this is a puzzle. It has been explained to mean, 'sweet water' or 'pure water.' In Arabic '*arab*' and '*arib*' are used to mean 'much pure water,' or as verbs, 'having much water' (of wells, rivers, etc.) This may account for this expression, but the derivation seems doubtful. Perhaps the expression should be *adrak ká pání*, ginger water or gingerade.

55.

Alang-palang ká pál'ná,
 Resham lági dori ;
 Kábul se mughalání áí
 Khaṛi jhuláve pál'ná ;
 Nindí, nindí, bíbí !
 Nindí, nindí, karo.

Panjáb.

A swing-cradle for your bed,
 Hung with silken ropes ;
 The nurse has come from Kábul
 To make the cradle swing :
 Sleep, sleep, my baby,
 Sleep, sleep.

Notes.

This is the last of the English nursery lullabies. See song No. 52.

pál'ná and *palan*, a swing-cradle, cradle.

lági = *lagi*, fastened.

mughalání, properly a female Mughal (Moghul) : used for an attendant in the women's apartments in Musalmán houses ; a maid, house-maid, maid-servant, nurse.

nindí. See song No. 52.

bíbí. See song No. 52.

56.

Hun min'jo kihán mil'ne ?
 Gaddien andá air,
 Pattar pattar bak'riyán khai-láe,
 Bhaṛ'naulyán khah'de bair.

Hun eh nahín phul'ne.
 Kuni jíná ? kuni mar'ná ?
 Eh kamm phirí kuni kar'ná ?

Hun min'jo kihán mil'ne ?
 Barhí bhar phirí kuni bas'ná ?
 Kus mitre kane has'ná ?
 Hun eh nahín phul'ne.

Kángṛá.

How shall I get them now ?
 The shepherd's flock has come
 And the goats have eaten all the leaves,
 And the squirrels have eaten the wild-plums.

This (tree) will not flower now.

Who will live ? who will die ?

Who will do this again ?

How shall I get them now ?

Who will live again a whole year ?

With what friend shall I laugh (and play) ?

This (tree) will not flower now.

Notes.

The tenor of this song is rather elevated for small children ; it is, however, very popular. The child is supposed to arrive at a favourite *ber* tree (wild plum, *Zyziphus jujuba*), and finds that all the fruit and leaves have been destroyed by goats and squirrels.

hun, Panj., now.

min'jo, hill dialect, to me ; = *main* + *jo*. See song No. 5.

kihán ? Panj., how ? See song No. 23.

Gaddien, en dialect. inflect. See song No. 5, etc. The Gaddís are a caste of Hindú shepherds in Kángará and Chambá.

andá = *átá*, comes. Cf. song No. 46.

air, *ír*, Panj., a flock (sheep, goats, etc.)

bhaṭ'naulí, hill dial., a squirrel. (Hind. *gilah'ri*) ; but I rather doubt this.

khah'de = *kháe*, eat.

kuní ? hill dial., who ? *kus* ? (= *kis*) inflect. form of the above. Cf. songs Nos. 23, 27, 31.

kamm, Panj., = *kám* in all its senses.

barhí bhar, a full year : *barhí*, a year. See song No.

has'ná, for *hans'ná*, to laugh. Cf. songs Nos. 31, 44, 45 and 47.

LOCAL SONGS.

57.

“ Chal ; Chambe chákarí jáná, miyán ;

Chal ; Chambe chákarí jáná, miyán.”

“ Aukhí re gháṭí, bikh'rá re painḍá ;

Aukhí re gháṭí, bikh'rá re painḍá :

Godí men bálak yáná, miyán ;

Godí men bálak yáná, miyán.”

“ Chal ; Chambe chákarí jáná, miyán ;

Chal Chambe chákarí.”

Kángará.

“Come and take service in Chambá, friend ;
 Come and take service in Chambá, friend.”
 “That difficult pass, that difficult path ;
 That difficult pass, that difficult path :
 A young child in my arms, friend ;
 A young child in my arms, friend.”
 “Come and take service in Chambá, friend ;
 Come to service in Chambá.

Notes.

This is one of the songs of the Gaddís or Hindú shepherds of the Kángará mountains (see song No. 56). Service under the Chambá Rájá is looked on as very remunerative in Kángará, because, though the pay is insignificant, the room for exaction is unlimited. The mountains, however, into Chambá from Kángará are very high and difficult.

Fallon. *New Hind. Dict.*, art. گھاتی quotes a ‘hymn’ in almost the exact words of this song.

Aughat gháṭí, mushkil painḍí, godí men bálak yáná.

So the above song may be an adaptation from some well known hymn.

bikh'rá, Panj., difficult, impracticable.

re, exclamation used towards something bad. *Cf. re koko*, O that crow ! Song No. 52.

58.

Gadeṭiye bo, ghasútari kháná jáná, bo !

Gadeṭiye bo, ghasútari kháná jáná, bo !

Gaddí terá aj marhe bich nahínon ;

Chite bich sukh kihán páná, bo ?

Chambá.

O shepherdess, O come and have a slide !

O shepherdess, O come and have a slide.

Thy shepherd to-day is not at home ;

O how will happiness be in thy heart ?

Notes.

This is another song of the Gaddís (see song No. 56). A slide down the sides of the snow-clad mountains is a common amusement. This is a woman's song.

Gadeṭí, a Gaddí woman, a Gaddí's daughter ; shepherdess. *Eṭí*, hill dial., is a common termination to signify the daughter or woman of a tribe or caste. *Cf. Khatreṭí*, a Khatri woman ; *Brahmaṇeṭí*, a Brahman woman ; *Chámareṭí*, a Chammár woman ; etc.

bo, O, See song No. 18, etc.

ghasútarí, hill dial., a slide in the snow : a slide down the snow-clad mountain side : toboganing. *Ghasútarí kháná*, to slide, to have a slide.

Gaddí terá, lit., thy Gaddí, thy shepherd : among the Gaddís it is used for husband, but not for any other male relative. *Gaddí terá*, thy husband : *Gaddí merá*, my husband.

marhe ; Panj., *marh*, *marhí*, a Hindu tomb or monument : hill dial., a monument or temple on a hill top : among the Gaddís a house, a hill-side hut.

bich, in : see song No. 18.

kíhán ? Panj., how ? see song No. 23.*

59.

Báří Anjaníyán den melen, bo, bhandorú laryá :

Bhandorú laryá, bo, bhandorú laryá.

Ákhen Anjaníyán den melen, bo, bhandorú laryá !

Log sáre mele de jhárán bich ghus're, bo :

Gusáín tithú dá ghare bich baryá,

Bich baryá.

Múíye, Anjaníyán den melen, bo bhandorú laryá.

Kángará.

Indeed the bees stung at Anjaná's fair, O :

The bees stung, O the bees stung.

Verily the bees stung at Anjaná's fair, O !

All the people at the fair rushed into the jungles, O :

The priest of the place ran into his house,

Into his house.

My dear, the bees stung at Anjaná's fair, O.

Notes.

The monkey god Hanumán was the son of Anjaná, wife of Kesarí, a monkey, by Vayu or Pavana, the Wind ; whence his metronymic Anjaneya. At Gurk'rí, four miles from Kángará town, there is a temple to Anjaná, and a fair is held there in her honour in October. The story goes that many years ago a man at the fair accidentally disturbed a bees' nest, and the bees dashed out and stung all the people, who ran into the thick jungles in the neighbourhood.

báří, indeed, verily. See song No. 7.

den, of : see song No. 21.

bhandorú, a bee ; hill dial.

* The *on* in the word *nahíon* in the above song I have explained at p. 157 (i) as an intensive termination. The word should, however, be perhaps explained as *nahín* *on* = *nahín o* = *nahín hai*, is not, where *on* (o) = *hai*. See footnote to p. 161.

ákhen, hill dial., indeed, verily : (?) connected with Panj. *ákh'ná*, to say, tell.

bich, into, in. See song No. 18.

tithú, hill dial., there. So also *hithú*, here ; *kithú* ? where ? *jithú*, when : and so on. Cf. Panj. tithe, there, and tithon, thence ; and so on. *máíye*, my dear. See song No. 32.

60.

Asán, bo, je sunyá khinnuen pattan par áyá :
Dittí, bo, majúrí khinnuen pár langháyá.

Khinnuen dí ram-jham lán chirebáliá :
Khinnuen dí ram-jham !

Bag'dí bag'dí Rái bich, pání hán main kúrá.
Háth mat lándá be ! Murak jándá chúrá.

Khinnuen dí ram-jham lán chirebáliá :
Khinnuen dí ram-jham !

Bag'dí bag'dí Rái bich pání hán bhamíriyán :
Mulak ujáryá Bhaunen diyán jhíriyán.

Khinnuen dí ram-jham lán chirebáliá :
Khinnuen dí ram-jham !

Bag'dí bag'dí Rái jit pání hán bhuáriyán :
Des bigáryá Bhaunen diyán kumháriyán.

Khinnuen dí ram-jham lán chirebáliá :
Khinnuen dí ram-jham !

Sar'kín sar'kín jáná, hatheñ kawwe dí, be, sóthí :
Pichheñ mupí dekh ! Terí nár, bo, kharotí !

Khinnuen dí ram-jham lán chirebáliá :
Khinnuen dí ram-jham !

Kángará.

O, when I heard that bouncing balls were at the ferry :
O, I paid the fare and had a bouncing ball brought across.

A gaily-turbaned man brought the bouncing ball :
The bouncing ball !

I am throwing rubbish into the rolling Ráví.
O don't take my hand ! my bracelets break.

A gaily-turbaned man brought the bouncing ball :
The bouncing ball !

I am throwing twirly-whirlies into the rolling Rávi :
 The water-carrying girls of Bhaun have ruined the country.
 A gaily-turbaned man brought the bouncing ball :
 The bouncing ball !

I am throwing the brooms into the rolling Rávi :
 The potter-women of Bhaun have ruined the country.
 A gaily-turbaned man brought the bouncing ball :
 The bouncing ball !

O, you walk the roads with *kaowá*-stick in hand :
 Turn and look back ! O your wife is standing (there) !
 A gaily-turbaned man brought the bouncing ball :
 The bouncing ball !

Notes.

This song is very popular among young married women, and exhibits the peculiar habit many of them have of playing with children's bouncing-balls (*khinnún*, see song No. 51). They try and see how often they can bounce them up and down without a fault.

Bhaun is the city part of the town of Kángará, and Rái stands for Rávi, which, however, does not flow past Kángará, but on the other side of the Dhaulá Dhár or Outer Himálayan Range.

The first things a native wants in a new place are water and a *gharí*. These at Kángará are supplied by the *jhírís* and the *kumhárís* who hawk them about to strangers. They are of notoriously loose character, hence the allusion in the song.

Asán, bo, je sunyá : cf. song No. 32 : when I heard. *Je* = *jo*, when : usually it means if, in Panj.

majúrí, vulgar for *majdúrí* = *mazdúrí*, a labourer's pay. I have heard *majúr'ní* used for a female cooly in the Panj. Courts.

langháýá ; Panj. *langháuná*, causal of *langh'ná*, to pass over : to get brought over : to fetch over.

ram-jham, hill dial., the bouncing up and down of a ball. Cf. Hind. *rim-jhim*, the patter of rain.

chírebáliá for *chírewáliá* = *chírewálá*, *lit.*, he of the checkered turban (*chírá*, see song No. 35) : a man with a turban of many colours : *wáliá* for *wálá* is a common Panj. form seen in many family names, *e. g.*, Ahlu-wáliá. *Chírewálá* has also an idiomatic sense of medical practitioner.

pání hán, I have thrown ; *páná*, to throw ; cf. songs Nos. 23, 25, 45, etc.

bhamírí (cf. Hind. *bhambírí*, a butterfly), the common Indian toy consisting of a small stick with paper fixed round the top so as to whirl quickly in the wind : a twirly-whirly.

khinnuen, *Bhaunen*, *pichhen*; for the termination *en*, cf. songs Nos. 47, etc.

jhíri fem. of *jhír*, hill dial., = Panj. *jhinwir* (Hind. *kahár*) the carrier caste: in the hills the water-carriers (blishtí). The women of this caste are very loose in character.

jít, in which. See song No. 25.

bhuári for *buhári*, a broom.

sar'kín: *ín*, apparently another form of *en*; see songs Nos. 47, etc.

kawwá, (Hind. *ák* or *ákh*) hill. dial., the large swallow-wort: *saccharum officinarum*.

murí, having turned: for the term *í* see song No. 23.

kharotí (= *khalotí*) standing still.

RIDDLES AND COMIC SONGS.

61.

Sárang phariyá sárang nún.

Jo sárang boliyá áe,

Je sárang ákhe sárang nún

Tán sárang mukh te jáe.

Panjáb.

The peacock caught a snake.

When the thunder rolls,

If the peacock makes his cry

Then the snake slips from his mouth.

Notes.

The above is a play on the several meanings of the word *sárang*; viz., (1) a peacock, (2) a snake, (3) thunder, (4) the peacock's cry: *sárang* also means (5) a musical measure or *rág* sung at midday, (6) a cloud, (7) a frog.

Fallon, *New Hind. Dict.*, quotes the Hindí version of this song; art. سازنگ.

62.

Bak'rí bolí, "main ! main ! main ! main !"

"Main " men mání jáe.

Mainá bolí, "main na ! main na !"

Baiṭhí shakar kháe.

Panjáb.

The goat says, "I ! I ! I ! I !"

And in saying "I !" is killed.

The *mainá* says "I am nothing ! I am nothing !"

And sitting (at ease) is fed with sugar.

Notes.

Here we have a play upon the word "*main*" and the bleating of a goat at the shambles: and also a play upon the words "*mainá*" and "*maín na*". The catch has a moral to it, "the proud man has a fall and the humble gets good things."

63.

Rukhe par Gaddí charhyá :

Sun, charhyá, jí !

Pakká dárú raryá :

Sun, raryá, jí !

Chambá.

The shepherd climbed into the tree :

Listen, sir, he climbed !

The ripe pomegranate fell :

Listen, sir, it fell.

*Notes.**rukhe*, Panj. *rukkh*, *rukkh'ra*, a tree.*Gaddí*, see song No. 56, etc.*dárú*, hill dial., a pomegranate. Cf. Hind. *dárimí*, *dárim* : Sansk. *dálíma* and *dádima*.*raryá*, hill dial., to fall (of fruit).

POLITICAL SONG.

64.

Merí sundar pyáří áí mandar men ;

Hans hans kar'tí hai, be, khilí.

"Kábul kí laráí, yáro, sun'kar, mujh'ko

Ho, be, rahí thí bekalí.

Kábul már'ke kab'je men lée

Jítí nahín hai Hirát galí."

Panjáb.

My pretty dear came into the house ;

Laughing she is, oh, bursting with laughter.

"I have heard about the Kábul war, my friend,

And oh I have remained ill at ease.

Kábul we have conquered and taken into our possession,

But have not conquered the road to Hirát.

Notes.

Very popular all over the Panjab during the late Kábul war.

khilí, bursting with laughter.*bekalí*: *kal honá*, to be at ease; *bekal honá*, to be ill at ease, to be out of joint.*galí*, a pass, road.

Note on some earthen pots found in the alluvium at Maheṣvara (Mahesar).—By P. N. BOSE, B. Sc., F. G. S., *Geological Survey of India.*

(With two Plates.)

Maheṣvara is the capital of the southern portion of Holkar's territory known as the Subhā of Nimar, and is situated on the Narmadā some 40 miles south of Indore. Modern Maheṣvara rose into importance during the reign of Ahalyā Bāi who made it the seat of her government. As containing the ashes of that remarkable and venerable woman it is largely resorted to by pilgrims.

Captain Dangerfield in his paper on the Geology of Malwa* mentions having been shewn in the alluvium at Maheṣvara large "earthen vessels and bricks," which were stated "to have been, at a very remote period, overwhelmed by a shower of earth." Since Dangerfield's time, however, —and he wrote more than 60 years ago—no one has taken any notice of them. I happened to pass through Maheṣvara last April, and wanted to avail myself of the opportunity to examine the antiquities in question. I was located in a bungalow to the west of the town. (Pl. XIV, fig. 1.) The upper 6 feet of the alluvium upon which the bungalow stands, is composed very largely of broken pottery, and I extracted a nearly whole urn-shaped earthen pot, quantities of more or less damaged cup-shaped vessels, fresh water shells, fragments of lower jaw and bones of Ruminants, &c. The pottery remains had evidently been carried by the river from some place higher up; and I learnt on inquiry, that at the eastern extremity of the town, there were to be seen by the river side the remains of an ancient city turned upside down, as my informant stated, through supernatural agency. The banks of the Narmadā at the place (known as the "Mandal kho") are some 65 feet high. Approaching it by boat, one sees from a distance two well-defined beds of unequal thickness, the upper (about 20 feet) remarkably light-coloured, and the lower (about 45 ft.) of a brownish hue. On getting to the place, my guides pointed out towards the base of the upper bed portions of pottery-work, no doubt as they had been pointed out to Dangerfield threescore years ago, and are described by him as large earthen vessels. The pottery-works appeared to enclose round wells, of which I counted half-a-dozen. They are all more or less inaccessible, and it is not without considerable difficulty that I managed to clamber up to one.

The two zones of the alluvium just mentioned are separated by a thin stratum of very dark-coloured clay which to all appearance formed the soil of the now inhumed city. The lower portion (6 ft.) of the light coloured upper zone contains bits of charcoal and fragments of pottery in abun-

* Malcolm's "Central India," Vol. II, p. 325.

dance. The presence of the former would lead one to infer a large admixture of ashes. Pieces of human and cattle bones, small pebbles, bricks and a few large rolled pebbles chipped off artificially were obtained from this bed. The overlying alluvium (about 14 ft.) is characterised by the entire absence of these, and the occurrence of large rolled pebbles and freshwater shells. The pottery-work seen from below is found on examination to be composed of very thick, closely fitting circular pieces open at both ends, measuring $5\frac{1}{2}$ in. vertically, and with a diameter of a foot and a half. From the well enclosed by this pottery I dug out a very large number of earthen pots of various shapes and sizes piled up with their mouths downward, some quite empty, others filled partially or entirely with an argillaceous material. The length of the vessels varies from 11 to 7 inches, and the diameter from 8 to 6; the diameter of the mouth which is without a lid ranges between 5 and 3 inches. There is no ornamentation except an unsymmetrical furrow or two an inch below the neck. See Pl. XIV, XV, fig. 2—5.

The contents of the pots when not empty are an indurated marl presenting a vesicular appearance, and containing bones of birds and small mammals and fragments of charcoal. The vesicles are irregularly elongated, and are encrusted over with a thin yellowish-brown substance which Mr. Mallet of the Geological Survey (who very kindly analysed a specimen) considers to be the remains of some decomposed vegetable matter. Large numbers of ribs probably of goats and sheep and some teeth were got mostly from the interstices between the pots. The entire absence of human bones or human teeth from inside the well is notable.

The well dug into (*g* in Pl. XIV, fig. 1) goes down about 10 ft. into the lower zone of the alluvium, though the boundary-work of pottery is carried only 2 feet downward. Earthen pots were found from top to bottom all, as remarked before, with their mouths directed downward.

As the other wells were quite inaccessible, they could not be opened up without excavations on a large scale for which I had no time. If similarity of appearance might justify us in inferring anything we would infer them to contain earthen vessels also similar to those obtained from the well just described. It would be extremely desirable to examine them, especially as excavations may lead to important discoveries and throw some light on the early history of India. I may mention in this connection that I noticed at one end of the section, at "Mandal koh," two rows of bricks (*k* in the diagram), as if they enclosed the door of a house.

The points which present themselves for determination are—

- (1.) The age of the inhumed town.
- (2.) The purpose for which the well described in this paper was constructed, and the earthen vessels placed in it.
- (3.) The cause of inhumation.

I have not been able to settle any of these important questions to any-

thing approaching satisfaction. I shall, however, throw together a few notes in the hope that they may be of some service to the archæologist.

The shape of the earthen vessels is quite peculiar, and the potters of the district have long ceased to make anything like them. When we consider, besides, the thickness of the alluvium covering the wells, and of the pottery-bed below the bungalow, as well as the age of modern Maheṣvara itself which is built upon these deposits and is at least some four centuries old,* we can have no doubt about the antiquity of the inhumed town. That there was an ancient city of the name of Maheṣvarapura or Maheṣa-Manḍala, there is fair historical evidence to prove.† It is possible that the relics now discovered mark the site of that city.

Cantley in his account‡ of an ancient town discovered near Saharanpur speaks of a well near the site of that town from which "a great quantity of *gharás* or waterpots were taken out whole, as if," says he, "they had fallen into the well and sank." He does not, however, describe them or their contents, nor does he tell us how they occur. Their large number, and the circumstance of their having been taken out whole, make their occurrence by mere accident extremely improbable, and incline me to suspect that they were, like the earthen pots under notice, placed in the well by human hands, and for one and the same purpose. But what could this purpose be? In the present instance certainly, the wells could not have been village wells, for in that case there would not have been so many of them close together especially so near the river. Nor could they evidently have been meant for irrigation purposes. The most eligible hypothesis that has presented itself to me is, that the *gharás* were dedicated to the dead, some with the ashes after cremation, and others with cooked cereals and meat. The ashes would explain the presence of bits of charcoal in the marly contents of the *gharás*. The vesicular texture of these contents, and the peculiar lining encrustation of the vesicles could be satisfactorily accounted for by the mixing up of the cereal grains with marl brought into the pots by infiltration and their subsequent decomposition. The evolution of gases during this process would, as observed by Mr. Mallet,

* The inscriptions at Kāleśvara and Mátameśvara, the two oldest temples at Maheṣvara bear the dates Samvat 1622 and 1623 respectively. An inscription in a mosque near the fort deciphered to me by a Munshi gives 800 *Hijra* as the date of its erection.

† Maheṣvara has been identified by Cunningham with the *Mohishifalopulo* of Hiouen Tshang. ("Ancient Geography," p. 488.) The 'Mahiṣa Manḍala' to which a Missionary was sent by Aśoka in B. C. 240 (Turnour "Mahāwamsa," pp. 71-73) is probably present in the names Maheṣvara and Maṇḍaleśvara which are only four miles apart.

‡ Journal of the As. Soc. of Bengal, Vol. III, for 1834, p. 225.

cause the vesicles to be diverse and irregular; and such is found to be the case. Some at least of the bones found are probably the remnants of dishes of animal food.

Preserving the ashes after cremation and supplying the dead with cooked food, were practices in vogue with many tribes, both Indian and extra-Indian. Major Mockler, for instance, describes some earthen pots from Makrán,* in which he says the dead were supplied with cooked food. But in this and similar cases the urns or pots occur in well recognizable and indisputable graves. In the instance at hand, however, the pots are extraordinarily numerous, and their mode of occurrence quite peculiar.

The Thero Mahādeva who was sent by Aśoka in B. C. 240 to Mahīṣa Maṇḍala† is reported to have made 40,000 converts to Buddhism, and ordained 40,000 more as priests. Hiouen Tshang, however, describes the people of the kingdom of Maheśvarapura as heretics, the most numerous being the *Pāsupatas*.‡ So that if the well had anything to do with Buddhist funeral rites, it must have been sunk either before, or during the earlier centuries of the Christian era. But as the Buddhist topes hitherto discovered are to my knowledge of a quite different structure from the well-tope at Maheśvara (if tope indeed it be), I am inclined to think that the latter was the work of some non-Buddhist Scythian tribe in which case too the date could not be later than that just surmised § I have not, however, discovered any certain traces of such a tribe. The Bheels, the aboriginal people of the district, burn their dead, except infants and adults who die from unnatural causes.

Dangerfield speaks of a shower of earth as the cause assigned for the inhumation; I was told that the place had been overturned. These traditions probably point to an earthquake which would cause submergence, as in the case of the fort and village of Sindru on the Indus ||

The collections consisting of *gharās*, bones, &c., have been presented to the Indian Museum.

* Proc. A. S. B. for July 1877. The vessels found by Major Mockler now in the collection of the Indian Museum are not unlike those which form the subject of this paper.

† See note, ante p. 228.

‡ "Hist. de la vie de Hiouen Tshang" pp. 414-415.

§ James Prinsep from an examination of the coins discovered by Cautley assigns the early centuries of the Christian era as the date of the destruction of the ancient city near Saharanpur.

|| Lyell's "Principles of Geology," 10th edition, Vol. II, p. 99.



RABJOR OR (SUBHUTI)



RIGDAN TAGPA



LEGDAN



ABHAYA KARA GUPTA



GO-LOCHAVA of TANAG



SAKYA PANDITA



YUNTON DORJE



GELEGPAL — SSAN^Â



SONAM CHHYOG—LAÑ[^]



LOSSAN^Â TONDUB



LOSSAN[^] CHHO KYI GYAL—TSHAN



LOSSAN YEÉ



LOSSAN POLDAN YESE

I N D E X

TO

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